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CÆSARION,

OR

Hiſtorical, Political, and Moral

DISCOURSES.

IN

Four Days ENTERTAINMENT between two Gentlemen, very Pleaſant and Uſeful for all ORDERS of Men whatſoever.

Engliſh'd by Jos. Walker

LONDON,

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CÆSARION

OR

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

IMPRIMATUR. R.

TO

The HONOURABLE

Sir *Edward Windham*, Baronet.

Honour'd Sir,

ONe of the chiefest Ingredients, that serves to compleat a Mans happyness in this World, *is the right adapting of things, and the fit applying them to Time, Place, and Persons, as occasion requires. The* Sun *has not yet finish'd his Course through the* Zodiack, *since I had the Happiness of shewing my Obsequiousness to a venerable* Judge *of your Name and Family, upon another Argument: It* The History of the Eucharist.

happned to be his Viaticum, *he soon after disappear'd, and enter'd into his Master's Joy.*

You are now, Sir, mounting the Horizon, *beginning to run your* Course, *my inclination, as well as the florid Season of the Year, excites me to congratulate your coming to* London: *Were my Abilities answerable to my Mind, there should not a Year nor a Day pass, but I would express my Gratitude to the Antient, Loyal, and Flourishing Familys of the* Wyndhams *&* Hungerfords *in general, (from whence you are Linealy descended) and to Your Self (the Top and Chief Branch) in particular, for the many Favours I stand obliged unto you.*

A Person of Quality, and great Merit, was pleas'd not long ago to recommend this little Book to me, as

a thing well enough approved of by the Curious: I look upon it again and again, and found, that though it be little in Bulk, yet 'tis very Great in Worth and Value. What would wee have but Flowers and Marrow, Strength and Beauty, it treats of the greatest Persons of Antiquity, and discovers their spots and perfections; it extends to the greatest Persons of the times past and present. It universally regards all Man-kind. The Famous Author of it is deservedly reputed one of the greatest Men of this Age. I freely confess, I find in it so many Notions applicable to my self, and every body else that has seen any thing of the World, and so many Moral as well as Political Remarks and Maxims, worthy of your Knowledge, Practice, and Observation, that rather than it should any longer

or no

ger the Incognito, I could not forbear Communicating it to the World, under the auspicious Protection of your Great Name; and to confirm my Hypothesis, I find a Conformity betwixt the Interlocutor and your Circumstances, and therefore do make it Yours rather than any body's else.

Proceed therefore, Noble Sir, to the Court, and to the Senat-House, Imitate the worthy Example of the Famous Curtius, and prove a true English Manlius, in encouraging true Religion and Virtue, and distributing Justice Impartially, in the Sphere God has plac'd you. I have seen several of your Friends treat you with their fine Coaches, Houses, Gardens, &c. I thought a Book, amongst your other Recreations, might sometimes serve for a Diversion, Quel

ch'io

ch'io ho jo u'el dono. *Beſeeching Almighty God to preſerve you from all temporal Dangers, and finally to reward you with everlaſting Happyneſs, I ever remain;*

Honour'd *Sir*

Your moſt obedient

Humble Servant,

Joſ. Walker.

CÆSA-

ch'io ho jo u'el dono. Beseeching Almighty God to preserve you from all temporal Dangers, and finally to reward you with everlasting Happyness, I ever remain;

Honour'd Sir

Your most obedient

Humble Servant,

Jos. Walker.

CÆSARION.

The *first* Day.

Sir,

NOthing can be truer than your Opinion, for Art and Education only cannot make a Man, of extraordinary Merit, neither can Nature alone do it much better, and were I to chooſe, I ſhould prefer a good Education, with a moderate Talent, rather than the greateſt Natural Parts with a Mean Education. I have particular reaſons to be of this Opinion. You know, I had the Fortune to fall into good hands in my younger Years, and though I ſignify not much, I verily believe it had been worſe with me, if I had not had that happyneſs; and I will tell you what befel me, ſince you know it already. I had indifferently well

perform'd my Studys and Exerciſes at the Univerſity &c. and was as well pleas'd at it my ſelf, as thoſe that had the Inſpection over me. When it was my Chance to be preſent with ſome Gentlemen of my acquaintance, who agreed to make your Friend a Viſit in the Country, where he uſually paſſed the Summer, his Name, which was not unknown to me, gave me the Curioſity to be one of the number: I cannot tell what he diſcover'd in me that pleaſed him, but when my Company were returning, he ſo courteouſly deſir'd me to ſtay, that I could not refuſe him; having ſpent ſome Days in common Diſcourſe, the wearyneſs of the Country, to which young People are often ſubject, ſo prevailed, that I began to have a deſire to ſee the Town again, however I had ſo much Complaiſance not to be gon ſo ſoon as I could have wiſh'd, but I was not diſcreet enough to conceal my uneaſyneſs, which *Cæſarion* obſerv'd, and ſeeking only to divert me, took occaſion to entertain me upon

upon the very Subject. Do not think, *said he one day*, (having almost made me own it) that I blame you, it is a thing Natural to Persons of your Age, who being like you endow'd with the Qualities that make them succeed in the World, are most desirous to communicate them to others, and to make tryal whether their Sufficiency be such, as they beleive it. I am only troubled (said he) you should enter into the World without knowing it, and which is worse in beleiving it to be other than it is. I shall know it as others do, *said I*, when I launch into it: You think then, *said he*, that all those, who are in it understand it, and how, *said I*, could they guide themselves in it, all their Life if they did not know it, like blind Men, *said he*, in an irregular great House, the forward Fools go by chance, and the wisest grope to find the way, almost all the World may be consider'd one of these ways, and there is nothing more difficult, than to penetrate into Men and Business.

Those who are capable of Reflection have a confus'd knowledg, that

they see not clearly, and despairing of ever surmounting the obscurity, wherewith they are encompass'd, they lay aside their Circumspection, they rather desist than proceed for fear of missing their Aim; they Essay and try the best they can every thing they find in their way, before they trust or rely upon it, and flatter themselves that in Time, and with Patience in turning round and trying every way, at last they shall find something, and (if I may so speak) they think they are fall'n into the lap of Fortune: You shall often see great Places occupyed by Men of this Mould, it is such are cry'd up by the Vulgar sort for Wise and able Men; nevertheless it is neither Greatness of Spirit, nor Nobleness of Mind that has plac'd them in the Station they are in, it is only because they were afraid of every thing, and began betimes, and from the opposite to what they are, from the lowest attain to the highest Degree, they intended not to stay for what they knew they did not deserve, and where

whereunto probably they had some inward shame to aspire; these kind of Men are commonly seen in *Italy*, and this kind of circumspect close carriage, without any other Talent, has more than once mounted Persons unto the highest and greatest Preferments.

There be others, I told you, that govern themselves quite another way, but also with as little knowledge. These are persons naturally bold and resolute, but wanting Judgment, obstinate, indefatigable, violent in all their Motions, are always extravagant in their carriage, who never alter the course they have taken, be it never so difficult, they are startl'd nor restrain'd by nothing, and resolve to surmount all Obstacles whatsoever. This kind of Men, having no Solid Judgment, and going still onwards do of course find many things which rather impede than forward them, and stopping to remove that they should shun, they many times afflict themselves in vain and to no purpose, and seldom find any good Success, unless

it be by some unlook'd for Accidents, wherein Violence and Inadvertence are the chief Ingredients. It being Chance which produces these Conjunctures they succeed sometimes sooner; whereas those, who are circumspect, never arrive thereinto unless it be in a long Process of Time. At first they be laught at, because all imprudent ways are to be despis'd, and that nothing is more ridiculous than to strive without any likelyhood of attaining; but however they succeed soon or late. *Fortune* is a Woman, she loves to be importun'd, not to say forc'd, and it is almost the same of the Honours of this World as of those of the next, that the Violent take them by Force.

I sufficiently beleive, *answered I*, seeing *Cæsarion* stop) what you have said; but are there only these two sorts of Men in the World, and can't be, that there are none truly wise amongst such Multitudes of Men? Yes doubtless *said he*, there are, but many by one Accident or other are flung out of Fortuns Chariot before they come

come unto the end of the Race, or come out themselves, having found by Experience that they are not fit to run the Course.

What, *answered I*, then it should seem by your Discours, that persons of Merit are more unfit for the World than those others which you have describ'd. Yes, without doubt. And how can that be, *reply'd*, much concern'd at his Words; Is it not much better for all to have Wisdom than not, the danger is not in having Wisdom, *said he instantly*, nothing is more Desirable, whatever men think, nor so Useful and Universal. Whatever Fortune men attain unto, who are destitute of it, they have only an imperfect sense of their Happiness, and always live depriv'd of the most solid satisfactions, which it might afford.

But the Evil is, that those, which have too much Wisdom, have some secret Inclinations of complying with the Maxims of the World. They doe enough to shew the way they should go in, but they do not conti-

nue long in it. Can there be seen a greater peice of Flattery, than that of *Aristippus* kissing old *Dennis* the Tyrants feet, in asking him a Boon? It was all a wise Man could doe that desir'd to live peaceably in a Tyrants Court, but he should have stop't there, and not have answer'd those that wonder'd at it, *that* Dennis *had Ears in his Feet.* This Action spake of it self, and needed no Explanation. And so it is, that many Men, of great parts, lose the fruit of much paines which they take to attaine their Ends with great Men, through their weakness in not keeping their own Counsel.

Not that this Expression had any harm in it, it seems to me the least of those which we have remaining of this Excellent Person, and I much more esteem the Answer of the Philosopher *Favorinus* unto those, who blam'd him, for submitting without reason to the Emperour *Adrian*, in a Dispute which he had with this Prince; *And how to ill he chuse but be in the right, that had the Command of Thirty Legions.* Yet you

you see this Expression, how wise so-ever it is, might have been taken very ill of the Emperor, if it had been appli'd unto him, or at least it might have made *Favorinus* have forfeited the Merit of his Discretion.

In this manner it is, that the ablest Persons discover themselves when they are overcome with Weakness and Pride, and that they cannot strike Saile unto greater Powers: The inconsiderate freedom of *Philoxenes* appears much more pardonable; you know that the above mention'd *Dennis* having condemn'd him to the *Mines* for not approving some Verses this Tyrant had made, being set at liberty, *Dennis*, thinking he had made him more Compliable, shew'd him other Verses; but *Philoxenes* could not prevaile with himself to find them any better than the former, not doubting but his Sincerity should receive the like Punishment, instead of the Praises which the Tyrant expected, he gave no other answer than this, *to the Mines, to the Mines*, directing his words unto the same Satel-

tellites, which had lately freed him. I much better approve the equal Resolution of this unfortunate Poet, than the Timorousness of *Aristippus* and *Favorinus*, who having prevail'd with themselves to do what they ought, yet could not forbear saying what they should not have spoke. I should rather pardon the inconsiderate answer of *Gondamer*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, unto *James* the first King of *England*, with whom making his Court and discoursing in *Latin*, the King, speaking it correct and perfectly well, fell into a laughter at some slips the Count made, at which the Ambassador said of a suddain, *that his Latin was the Latin of a King, but the King's was that of a Pedant.* It is probable, it was a suddain Motion which this able States-Man could not Controule, wherein I find him more excusable than *Favorinus* and *Aristippus*, who made the Replyes, for which I blame them, in cold Blood. Moreover, I suppose that it might be farther said in the Ambassadours Justification, that how free soever his An-

Answer was, it was of a good Courtier, inasmuch as it ascribed unto the King the glory of speaking good Latin, whereof he was so Ambitious; Yes, answer'd *Cæsarion*, but it was turning this Glory into ridicule, and nothing more frets great Persons than to slight things, wherein they think they excell, how unbeseeming soever they be unto them. And it is, whereof the Grammarian with whom *Philip* of *Macedon* disputed about a Question, was not mindful as well as you, when he answer'd this Prince, *God forbid, Sir, that you should know this matter as well as I.* This Answer, *replyed* I, seems very polite for a Grammarian, and one could not more cleverly have intimated into a great King, that he was in an errour. But what resemblance is there betwixt That and our Practice? The Grammarians of our times are seldom guilty of such faults, and seldom dispute with Kings. Every Age and Country *have their Customs*, replyed *Cæsarion*, nevertheless, you see by these Instances, that Pride, being

ing inseparable from those that have much Wit, is but a very ill way of making their Court. The greatest Part cannot comply in seeing preferr'd before them, Persons not worthy to be compar'd unto them, and little many times part of their Merit to prevent Jealousy in others, and by seeing Superiors assume unto themselves the Labour and Desert of those which serve under them. To conclude, to behold Favour with the same respect which is only due to Merit: But if there be any found, that have the Command over themselves wholly to Sacrifice their Pride, when it doth not accord with their Interest, those have most commonly some other Failing no less hurtful, and that is, to be subject to their Pleasures.

This Defect, answer'd I, seems not unto me so dangerous as the other, there's Time for all things, and Men would be miserable, if there was not a time for Recreations. Pleasures, replyed Cæsarion, are a greater hindrance than you Imagine, and a

Man

Man, that enters into the World with high Designs, has but few hours to spare, if he intends to settle himself in any Creditable way, and to appear Expert betimes. Moreover, nothing doth so insensibly ingage in troublesome Affairs as Love; for the most beautiful Women are not always the most reasonable, nor the least wicked, and when once they take up the trade of Gallanting, they expose every thing else.

These be the Baits, which Pride and Pleasures lay before Persons of Merit, and wherein most do suffer themselves to be inhar'd; it is, what makes them go astray, or at least stops them in their course, whilst others, not being detain'd by these things, go forwards, and fill the Places, which Persons of Merit might justly have pretended unto. If it be so, they do ill, *said I*, and I do not pity them in the least; nevertheless they are to be pity'd, *said he*, and if ever you fall into any inconvenience of this Nature, you will find it is harder to resist than you imagine. I mean of Persons well descended,

ſcended, as for thoſe which endeavour to raiſe themſelves only by the Evil which they doe, having no other means to become Great, to ſatisfy their Revenge or their Malice, or any of thoſe Paſſions wherein their Delight does conſiſt, in vexing others, and never affording any Reſt or Contentment to themſelves, ſuch Perſons never find any thing unworthy which may tend unto their Ends, nor nothing pleaſing as may any way hinder them from attaining their Deſires.

I underſtand your Meaning, *anſwer'd I*, at theſe words, but I cannot beleive that the greateſt number of Perſons of Merit are Guilty of theſe two Faults you have mentioned; on the contrary, *ſaid he*, theſe defects are almoſt inſeparable, thoſe which are extreamly vain are not Amorous, or are not ſo very long. To Love, one muſt think there is want of ſomething which one has not, and not be over-well content with ones ſelf, ſo that Perſons, that are very Amorous, cannot well be very Proud. Love is ſuch an

an overflowing Spring of gross Defects, that make but ever so little Reflection in this State, one shall scarce keep any good Opinion at all of himself: So that it is very seldom, that any Man is affected with these two different Extreams at once, either of them is sufficient to ruine him that entertains it; and it often happens, that Men pass from one of them to the other. Being recover'd from the Love of Glory, Men fall into Voluptuousness, as *Lucullus* did, and sometimes also from Pleasures Men entertain thoughts of Glory, but that's but seldome.

It is pity, *said I*, that these two Passions, so incident unto Persons of good Extraction, should be so hurtful unto their Fortunes; for I suppose, that when they are settled in us, it is very difficult to moderate them; a thousand times, *said he*, more difficult than you can imagine; and it is wherein *Cæsar* shew'd himself the Greatest Man that ever was; *one of his Friends is accus'd of the most Criminal Correspondence in the World with his Wife, &c.

*Plut. *in his Life*, & Suet. c. 74, &c.

Wife, no less than Adultery and Sacriledg both at once, and in so publick a Manner, that he is arraign'd for it before the severest Tribunal in *Rome*; it was a Person absolutely necessary for his Designs; it was necessary to repair this Injury, but it was no less convenient not to differ with him that did it, there needed an excellent temper of Mind, to find an Expedient to reconcile two such opposite Inclinations, and any body, besides *Cæsar*, would have been swayed by the Consideration of his Honour rather than Intereſt, or rather would have taken care of his Glory, which was his Intereſt to have don. He put away his Wife, saying, it was only becauſe ſhee was ſuſpected; and to ſhew at the ſame time ſhee was Innocent, he refus'd to produce any Evidence againſt him, that had Debauch'd her.

If you inquire into his Pleaſures, you will therein find the ſame Precaution; his Frolicks at *Bithinia* were only Youthful Extravagancies, which were of no great Conſequence, and could

could only serve as matter of Sport unto some Soldiers in a day of Triumph. His Gallantrys at *Rome* serv'd only to Amuse him no longer than that they were no hindrance to his other Designs, but when his dilaceration became suspected of Treason, and that they would Accuse him of a Crime of State for a Paper he receiv'd in the *Senat-House*, because he went about to conceale it; having don the part of a Gallant in concealing a Ladies Favours, he made no difficulty of sacrificing his Mistresses Letter unto the severe *Cato*, who had desir'd him to do it; who no sooner looked on it, but he saw it was his Sisters hand, *Cleopatra* her self, whatever is said of it, serv'd him no longer than was necessary to assure the Conquest of *Egypt*, the great Importance whereof at that time is sufficiently known; neither did shee hinder him (as shee did his Leivtenant afterwards) to prosecute the Course of his Victories; yet, *said I*, shee must needs be more Beautiful then; shee was so, *said he*, for shee was but

Suet. c. 49.

Plut. in *Cato* of *Utic.*

19 Years Old, but she had not so much Experience as afterwards; and besides, she had a particular Kindness for *Antonius*, she was the Mistress of his Master, and what Master?

What you have said of *Cæsar*, answer'd I, in that he would not prosecute his Wives Gallant, puts me in mind of another Husband that I was told of a while ago, which was not altogether so Scrupulous. It was the Beautiful Dutchess *D'Estampes* Husband, Mistress unto *Francis* the first, after the Death of this Prince, the good Man would needs begin a Law-suit against his Wife, which he durst not do any sooner, by reason of the great Kindness the King had for the Lady as long as he liv'd; and having occasion to prove this nice Point in open Court, he caus'd Informations to be made, wherein *Henry* the 2. and other chief Lords of the Court at his request testifi'd, in the handsomest terms they could, the great influence his Wife had on the King, and the strict Amity was betwixt that Prince and her. But to return

These Informations are to be seen in the King's Library.

to

to our buſineſs, be pleas'd to let me tell you, that I don't ſee but there be as many good men as others that attain to good Fortune: For if Pride and Voluptuouſneſs hinder them on one hand, their extraordinary Gifts, whereby they underſtand the World better than others, ſhould advance them to better Succeſs; It is true, *reply'd he*, for ſuch as have great Endowments of Mind without any Love of Vertue, which is more frequent than one imagins; for the moſt part of thoſe which are eſteemed cunning able Oppreſſors, are only unjuſt but not wiſe, and the Vulgar only think them to be ſo, becauſe they attain their Ends, without examining how or by what means they do it. But as for truly Virtuous Men how wiſe ſoever they be, they have in their Soule a Natural Incapacity of knowing the World, which hinders them more from making any Fortune in it, than all their other Paſſions beſides; and the reaſon is, to remove all our Admirations, continues he without giving me leave to

interrupt him; that the World being compos'd of Injuſtice, Oppreſſion, Fraud; when one is born honeſt, juſt, and ſincere; one cannot conceive but after a long and ſad Experience, and when 'tis too late, *I ſay*, one cannot beleive, that Men can be ſo divided amongſt themſelves, and that the ſame things, which appear ſo fair or deform'd unto ſome, ſhould appear the quite contrary unto others. Whereas Vitious perſons, finding nothing in themſelves, that contradicts what's practis'd in the World, have no difficulty to know what it is, and to accommodate themſelves to its Maxims. Neverthelels, *anſwer'd I*, if ſome ingenious Perſon, that I lookt upon as my Friend, did repreſent it unto me Naturally and to the Life, how ſtrange ſoever it appear'd, I ſhould have no difficulty to underſtand it. For to conclude, it's no ſuch new or ſtrange thing, to hear that the World is corrupt, and that Men are unjuſt and wicked, it is what is heard dayly in every body's Mouth. It is true, *reply'd he*, ſmiling,

it

it is daily ſpoken: Nevertheleſs it is only ſuch as have made long and deep Reflections in tryal of it, that can imagin unto what degree the thing is true; and you your ſelf that ſpeak, ſhould the wiſeſt Man, that ever was, tell you exactly what 'tis, you would not beleive him. But *I tell you, I would beleive him: But I tell you, you would not beleive him*: You are a ſtrange Man, *reply'd I*, (with a kind of concernedneſs, as made him ſmile) to imagine that you know better than I, what I ſhould beleive, or what not: without doubt, I know better than you doe your own ſelf. And for what reaſon, *I pray*? the reaſon is, that knowing the things this able Perſon would tell you, I can tell better than you, that did not know them, if you would beleive them, or if you would not beleive them: You may ſay what you liſt, *anſwer'd I*, you ſhall never make me agree unto all your Subtilties, that I ſhould not beleive what was told me, when what's told me ſhould be true. And for tryal, endeavour to tell me ſom-

thing, that you know to be most incredible, and you shall perceive by the course I shall take, whether I shall beleive it, or not. Some other time, *reply'd he*, we will make this Essay, if you think fit; for we have discours'd a good while, what diverted you at first may in continuance be troublesom to you, and you may well imagin, that is not my Intention.

The End of the First Day.

CÆSA-

CÆSARION.

The *Second* Day.

NExt day I rose much sooner than I was accustom'd, the new *Idea*'s, which your Friends discourse wrought in me, would not let me rest, and I was impatient to have them more fully explain'd. You must needs grant, that less matters might justly cause Admiration; no Person ever had a clearer apprehension, nor judged all things more accurately than he did, he had a peculiar way of expressing himself as seem'd to Charm his hearers; that's no strange thing in common Conversation. Many do speak very well and smoothly of matters daily discours'd of, but to express ones self so well in such sublime matters, as those he communicated to my

nothing ſeems more admirable in my Opinion. This incomparable and ſo rare a Gift was particularly his *Talent*. I have convers'd with other Perſons, that were litle inferiour to him in Parts, but you muſt as 'twere gueſs at their Meaning, and their Gifts were a Treaſure, that none but themſelves could reap any benefit by; him that moſt of all reſembled him, and that came neareſt him in handling matters, and for whom he had the greateſt kindneſs, was ſo obſcure, that *Cæſarion*, who only underſtood him, was wont to ſay of him, that he ſpoke by figures darkly; and I have obſerv'd, that the greateſt and moſt profound Wits have the greateſt difficulty, in making themſelves be underſtood.

I entertain'd my ſelf with theſe thoughts, walking in a Gallery that joyned unto his Cloſet, not thinking that he was yet ſtirring, when of a ſuddain, I ſaw him coming towards me; I perceive, *ſaid he*, that ſerious diſcourſes are ſomthing contrary to your Humour, I can only impute the cauſe

cauſe of your ſo early riſing unto thoſe we had togeather *Yeſterday*; a little thing ſerves to ſtir up Admiration in a perſon of your Age and Temper, but that ſhall be avoided hereafter. Come let's go to Break-faſt, and let's lay aſide our Diſcourſe of *Morals*; to ſay the truth, a good nap of ſleep is better than all we can ſay; I made a ſuddain Pauſe at theſe words, looking ſteadily upon him, to look if he really beleiv'd what he ſaid, and if he judged a privation of Senſe and Motion better than the Diſcourſe we had the precedent *Day*: I may, *ſaid he*, reply in the words of one of the *Antients*, unto whom one ſaid, that for a *Philoſopher*, he made but little account of *Philoſophy*. Why, it is even that, *reply'd he*, which is to be a *Philoſopher*, but I will not uſe ſo proud an Evaſion; It is neither Contempt, nor Pride, which inſpire me with the thoughts, whereat you are ſo much ſurpris'd, it is a kind of Stupidity of Soule, *in fine*, a kind of Contempt of Life, which would appear very reaſonable unto you, did you

but

but know, how I have hitherto ſpent it.

Our Break-faſt held not long, and the *Sun* was already too high to goe abroad, therefore we return'd to the Cloſet from whence he came; there were ſeveral *Books* lying open upon the *Table*, and Notes and Memorials which ſeem'd to be newly *Written*: I was not ſo much Maſter of my Self, but that I caſt an Eye upon them, and being about to excuſe my ſelf, he prevented me, ſaying, that they were no Secrets, and if they were, that nothing ſhould be a Secret to me in his Houſe: Then, *I repli'd*, that if I ſhould beleive all his Kindneſſes were real, he ſhould tell me if they were Secrets or not: Seeing you are deſirous to know the truth, they are only Abſtracts, I have drawn this morning out of the *Books* you ſee, for my own private Diverſion, to clear up one of the moſt curious matters of *Antiquity*, wherein I reſolv'd fully to ſatisfy my ſelf; whereupon, deſiring him to impart it to me, he ſoon

soon yeilded, and being sat down, he began in this manner.

Yesterday we spake amongst other things of *Cleopatra*, but it may be, you don't know what kind of Man her Father was, besides the name of *Ptolomy*, which was common unto all the *Kings* of *Egypt*, he was Surnam'd *Flute-Player*, for he so much admir'd that Instrument, that he assembled into his Palace, those which profes's'd to be the most skilful at it, and vyed with them, which Play'd best, him or they; his Predecessor, named *Alexander*, being exiled from his Kingdom by his Subjects, fled unto *Tyre*, where he Dyed not long after, and having no Issue, nor no other lawful Prince of the blood Royal to succeed, he made the people of *Rome* his Heirs, thinking he could not commit his Kingdom into safer hands; accordingly the *Senat*, intending to reap the benefit of so fair a Succession, dispatch'd also Deputies unto *Tyre*, to recover certain sums of Money, left there by this King at his Decease, but all these Projects fell to the ground.

Auletes. Strab. and *Porphyr* in *Euseb.*

De lege Agraria 1 & 2.

ground. Some *Tribunes* urged amongst other Reasons, that it was of dangerous Consequence, that the Pleasantness and Fertility of *Egypt* might allure too many of the People of *Rome* to go thither, if once they were Masters of it; therefore the Father of *Cleopatra* possessed himself of it, as Unkle or half-Brother to the late *King*, which had been formerly practis'd in that Illustrious *Family*.

There was no Prescription unto the Pretensions of the People of *Rome*, and it was but an uncertain *Title* of holding a Country that had been so well setled before, unless some Means could be found to make them quit their Claim. All the former *Kings* of *Egypt* had been Friends, or Allies unto the *Romans*, and upon several Occasions, improv'd the benefits which accru'd thereby. It regarded the present *King* more immediatly than any other; He could not be received more *Authentically* for a Lawful *King*, than by admitting him their Allie; and because the *Ceremony* was usually performed in the

the *Capitol*; the Allyance, by this means, became a Matter of Religion, than which nothing could be more *Sacred* and *Inviolable*. *Pro Rabirio Postumo.*

But the more necessary all this was, for him to attain to, so much the more difficult it was, how to accompliſh it? The Memory of his Predeceſſors *Teſtament* was ſtill freſh in Mind, and as the Faults of *Princes*, which are not ſutable to their Quality, are not eaſily forgiven, although many times greater Failures are paſt by; the Sur-Name of *Flute-Player*, which this *King* had got, gained him as much Diſcredit at *Rome*, as it had done at *Egypt*: Nevertheleſs he deſpaired not of good Succeſs, but all the Means he uſed to attain his Ends proved fruitleſs for a long time, and in all likelihood would never have ſucceeded, had not *Cæſar* been *Conſul*. This ambitious Spirit, who imbraced every thing that favour'd his Deſigns; being cumber'd with exceſſive *Debts*, finding this *King* diſpoſed to purchaſe by *Money*, what he could not attain by *Right*, ſold him

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the Allyance of *Rome*, as dear as he would purchase it, and received for himself and *Pompey* (whose Interest was necessary to procure the Peoples consent) near Six Thousand *Talents*, which amounts unto Ten or Eleven Millions of our *Money*.

Although this *King* did every year raise twise as great a Sum in his Country, he could not on a suddain raise this, without very much burdening his Subjects; they were already dissatisfi'd with him, for suffering the *Romans* to invade *Cyprus*, which antiently belonged unto *Egypt*. In this Conjuncture, the extraordinary Impositions he was forced to make so displeas'd his Subjects, that they openly rebelled; whereupon he resolved to make his escape privately, to preserve his Life. He convey'd himself so secretly away, that it was reported in *Egypt* he was slain, or they seemed to believe so. The Eldest of his three Daughters called *Bernice* was Proclaimed *Queen* in his stead, although he had two Sons, but much Younger than

than the Daughters, and ſhee ſoon after marryed a Neighbour *Prince*, which pretended to be Iſſued from the Antient *Kings* of *Syria*.

Soon after her Father arriving at the Iſle of *Rhodes*, which was in his way to *Rome*, underſtanding that *Marcus Cato* (afterwards ſurnamed *Utica*) was alſo arriv'd there; this Prince, deſirous to entertain him of his Affaires, cauſed notice to be given him of his being there, ſuppoſing this wiſe *Roman* would not have fail-ed, preſently to viſit him. But *Cato* ſent him word, that he ſhould come to him, if he had a mind to ſpeak with him; when *Ptolemy* entred his Chamber, he did not ſo much as riſe off his Seat, but ſaluting him only as an ordinary Perſon, bid him ſit down. The *King*, although ſur-pris'd at ſuch a Reception, could not but admire, how ſo much Height and Greatneſs could meet together in the ſame Man, with ſo much mo-deſty and plainneſs, as appear'd in his Habit and Equipage. But he was much more aſtoniſh'd, when ha-

having discours'd of his Affairs, *Cato* blam'd him openly, for quitting the fineſt *Kingdom* in the World, to goe expoſe himſelf to the Pride and Covetouſneſs of the great Men of *Rome*, and to ſuffer a thouſand Indignities by them. That it would be much his wiſeſt way, to returne aboard his *Ships*, and ſaile back for *Egypt*, to agree with his Subjects, and that he was ready to accompany him thither, if he pleas'd, and would employ himſelf in their Reconciliation.

Ptolomy, awakn'd by this Diſcourſe as from a Dreame, having ſeriouſly conſider'd his precipitate Wrath againſt his Subjects in *Egypt*, confeſs'd his ill Conduct in forſaking his Country. But his Followers, that attended him, being prevail'd with by *Pompey*, to have him goe to *Rome*, in the hopes, which all the World perceived afterwards, having diverted him from the good Counſel given him by *Cato*, he proceeded on his voyage, and repented at leiſure for having harkned unto them, finding himſelf conſtrain'd

after-

afterwards, not go from Door to Door, and from one Magistrate to another in this proud City, soliciting his Business like a common ordinary Person. Cæsar, on whose help he built his greatest Hopes, was not in Rome, he was making War in Gaul. But Pompey, being there, entertain'd him in his House, and did him all friendly Offices. Besides the Money I told you he received of this Prince conjointly with Cæsar, Ptolemy had deserved Pompey's favour by divers services he had render'd him in his Wars against Mithridates, and had defray'd the Charges of a new Horse in the Wars of Judea. Having therefore represented unto the Senate the Rebellion of his Subjects, he desired they might be reduc'd under his Obedience, as their Alliance obliged the Romans to do. In which affair Pompey's Faction prevail'd, and it was resolv'd accordingly. Upon the Proposition made by the Consul Publius Cornelius Lentulus, it was agre'd, that he should draw Lots with his Colleague, in what Provinces they should

Plin. Hist. l. 33. c. 10.

Dion. 39 ad Fam. l. 1. Ep. 1. in Pisonem, pro Rabirio.

go to command as Proconſuls, when they had finiſh'd their *Year*; and becauſe *Cilicia* was one of thoſe nominated for them, and that it was only ſeparated from *Egypt* by the Coaſt of *Syria*, it was agre'd, that unto either of them, to whoſe Lot it ſhould fall, he ſhould be charged with the *Kings* Re-eſtabliſhment.

It fell to *Lentulus* his Lot to undertake this Buſineſs, but before his Conſul-ſhip was ended, the *Egyptians*, hearing their *King* was not dead as they ſuppoſed, and that he was at *Rome*, diſpatched away a Solemn *Embaſſy*, to repreſent and juſtify their Revolt and Proceedings to the *Senate*; this *Embaſſy* was compos'd of a hundred Perſons of good Note, the cheif of which was a famous *Philoſopher*, called *Dion*, who had many and great Friends: *Ptolomy*, having notice hereof, uſed Means, by Murder and Poiſon, to deſtroy the greateſt Part of theſe *Ambaſſadours*, and ſo terrified thoſe, whom he could not corrupt, nor make away, that they dared not execute their Commiſſion, nor demand Juſtice for ſo many Mur-

Pro Cælio *de* Haruſp. *reſp.* Strabo, & Dion. *ibid.*

Murders and Violences. But the heynouſneſs of his Crimes being known by every body, it was no leſs hurtful unto him, than if they had been proſecuted in the due courſe of Juſtice; it in the end rendr'd the *King* as odious as he was deſpicable, and the vaſt Sums of Money, which he employ'd in gaining and corrupting the meaneſt and moſt covetous Perſons in the *Senate*, became ſo publickly known, that it was the general and common Town-talk. There had not to that time been ſeen ſo much Corruption and Violence uſed at once about any buſineſs whatſoever; and when there was occaſion offer'd to ſpeak in publick of this Kings Affairs, his coming to *Rome* was always eſteem'd one of the greateſt Miſchiefs, that ever hapn'd to the Commonwealth; having abſolutely completed the Debauchery and Corruption of good Manners, by his ill Practices and Example.

Several other Ambaſſadours of Allies being ſent to *Rome*, to complain of their Magiſtrates, were abuſed after the *Pro* Cælio *de* Haruſp. *reſp.*

same manner as those of *Egypt* were, but these last having fill'd up the Measure, all honest Men in the *Senate* shew'd themselves on this occasion. *Marcus Favonius*, amongst others, a *Philosopher* of the Sect of the *Stoicks*, was the first that declar'd himself against *Ptolomy*, he caus'd to be resolv'd, that the Academist *Dion*, Chief of the *Embassy*, should be sent to the *Senate* House to declare the Truth of things, but 'twas to little effect; the Faction of the King joyned with that of *Pompey* and *Lentulus*, of those whom he had gained with Money, and of those that had supply'd him Money to corrupt others, acted so publickly in his favour, that *Dion* dared not appear, and *Ptolomy* causing him to be slain soon after, although the *Homicide* was lawfully accused, yet he was acquitted for saying he had just reason for what he had done.

Pro Cælio.

Whether this *Prince* thought he had no more to do at *Rome* that required his Presence there, or that being generally hated, as he was, he might

might receive ſome Affront ſhould he ſtay there any longer, he ſoon after withdrew himſelf to *Epheſus*, into the Temple of *Diana*, until he ſaw what Courſe his Deſtiny would take.

Things were in this ſtate, towards the end of the Year, *DCXCVI.* of the Cities Foundation, at which time the new *Tribunes* of the People enter'd their Office, according to Cuſtom the 13 of *December*, one of which called *Caius Cato*, a bold reſolute Young Man, who wanted no Eloquence, declar'd himſelf in frequent Speeches againſt *Lentulus* and *Ptolemy*, with a general Approbation.

In the beginning of the following Year, *DCXCVII.* an Image of *Jupiter*, being overthrown by *Lightning* in Mount *Alban*, according to the ancient Cuſtom, the *Books* of the *Sybils* were conſulted to know what this Prodigy portended, and in them theſe Words were found. *If a* King *of* Egypt *has need of help, and addreſſes himſelf unto you, do not refuſe him your Friendſhip, nevertheleſs grant him not*

Succours, for by ſo doing you will ſuffer much Damage.

The uſual Manner was, to communicate theſe kind of *Oracles*, firſt to the *Senate*, to examine if it were lawful to divulge them. But *Cajus Cato*, fearing the *Kings* Faction might reſolve to ſuppreſs this, it being ſo much to this *Prince*'s prejudice, without farther Ceremony, preſented the *Prieſts*, which kept theſe ſacred Records unto the People, and by Virtue of the Power his *Tribune-ſhip* gave him, obliged them to expoſe unto the Publick, what they had therein found without conſulting the *Senate* in the matter.

This unexpected proceeding was as 'twere another *Thunder-clap* to *Ptolomy* and *Lentulus*. The words of the *Sybil* were too preciſe and exactly calculated to the preſent Conjuncture, not to imprint in the People the Impreſſions, the *Kings* Enemies deſired, and *Lentulus*, whoſe *Conſul-ſhip* was expired, not willing to receive in Perſon the diſgrace of revo-

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king the *Senat*'s Decree, which had appointed him to reſtore *Ptolomy*, went away immediatly into his Province. In fine, a few days after, one of the new *Conſuls*, called *Marcellinus*, an open Enemy unto *Pompey*, having repreſented the Senſe of the *Oracle* to the *Senate*; it was reſolved, Obedience ſhould be given unto it, and that it was not ſafe for the Common-Wealth, to re-eſtabliſh the *King* of *Egypt* by force of Armes. *Ad* Fam. *l.*1. *Ep.* 1. *ad* Q. F. *l.*2. *Ep.* 2.

Ceſarion ſtopping at theſe words, as 'twere to recollect what he had elſe to ſay; I could not hide my admiration from him, that in ſo learned an Age, the moſt Illuſtrious Aſſembly in the World, ſhould give credit to ſo unlikely a Superſtition. You muſt not wonder at it, *ſaith he*, unto me: A whole Aſſembly may have ſome difference upon a Religious ſcore, which it may be not one of thoſe Perſons would doe whereof it's compos'd, were they alone, and Men are very different when they are togeather, of what they be when they are ſingle and apart. No body doubts, *Ad* Fam. *l.*1. *Ep.* 1.

Ap. *in* Sir. & Parth. *&c.*

doubts, but this suppos'd Oracle was contriv'd on purpose in hatred of *Pompey*, who espous'd the *Kings* Interests, and whole ambitions dealings were alike suspected and known. Besides, it is most certain that the generality of good Men, at that time made no esteem of the *Books* of the *Sybils*. They were much admir'd indeed at the first beginning of the Common-Wealth, when the *Roman* Ignorance was as great as their Vertue; but since Learning had passed out of *Greece* into *Italy*, those kind of *Propheſies* were not regarded, and the three *Books* sold by the *Sybil* of *Cuma* at so great a price unto the first of the *Tarquin's*, having been burnt in the *Capitol* in the dayes of *Sylla*, it not being permitted to have Copies of them, other nice kind of *Books*, that had been gather'd throughout the Empire, to supply their place when the *Capitol* was rebuilt, not being of the same Authority, little heed was given to them; but let us re-assume the Course of our History.

Ad Fam. l. 1. Ep. 1.

Pto-

Ptolomy having obſerv'd during his ſtay at *Rome*, that the Correſpondence betwixt him and *Lentulus* tended but little to his advantage, becauſe this *Proconſul* had many Enemyes; at his departure from thence he left one *Amyntanius*, an *Egyptian*, his *Ambaſſador* there in his ſtead, and charged him not to inſiſt upon the order of *Senat*, that had appointed *Lentulus* to act in his Re-eſtabliſhment; moreover judging it neceſſary, this Commiſſion ſhould be put in the hands of ſome Perſon of Authority, and extraordinary Intereſt and Reputation, ſeeing it could not be executed by Force, by reaſon of the *Oracles* Prohibition; he Order'd his *Ambaſſadours* to demand, it ſhould be committed into the hands of *Pompey*, attended only with two Bayliffs.

Two Bayliffs, *ſaid I*, to reduce a whole Kingdom to Obedience; *reply'd Ceſarion*, the Majeſty and Reſpect at that time born unto the *Roman* Name throughout the World, may be demonſtrated from as improbable things as that; did you never

ver hear, *ſaid he*, of that great *Ambaſſadour* ſent by the *Senate*, the Age before that we ſpeak of, unto *Antiochus* the famous King of *Syria*? This Prince, having almoſt ſubdued the whole Kingdom of *Egypt*, was going to beſeige *Alexandria*, in which place the *Royal Family* had taken Sanctuary, being deſtitute of any other help, but the protection of the *Romans*.

Cajus Popilius was the Name of this Ambaſſadour, who meeting this proud *King*, being an Ally of *Rome*, four miles from this flouriſhing City, having ſaluted him, preſented him his Hand in token of Friendſhip; *Popilius* made no other anſwer to his Civility, but preſenting him the *Senates* Letters bid him read them. *Antiochus*, having read them, ſaid, he would adviſe with his Friends in the Caſe; but *Popilius* drawing a Circle about the *King* with a Rod he had in his Hand; *before*, ſaid he, *you paſs the Limits of this Circle, give the* Senate *your Anſwer*,

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The *King*, being ſurpris'd with ſo reſolute a demand, pauſed a little, and then promis'd to do what the *Senate* commanded; whereupon *Popilius* ſtretched out his hand, and declared the *King*, a Friend and Ally of *Rome*; and *Antiochus*, quitting all he had conquer'd, ſoon after departed out of *Egypt* by the time prefixt.

I confeſs, ſaid I, the two Bayliffs are not ſo ſtrange as this Adventure, and it had been neceſſary in this juncture, that this *King* had reſembled one of our *Kings*, that boaſted his Horſe carry'd all his Council, but if you pleaſe, let us return unto *Pompey*.

The Hopes, replied *Cæſarion*, which *Ptolomy* had in him, was the more juſt, becauſe this Illuſtrious *Roman* was at that time in the higheſt pitch of his Glory, by reaſon of the good ſucceſs in conquering *Mithridates*, the greateſt King that *Aſia* enjoy'd, ever ſince the days of *Alexander*. Two Tribunes of the People, one called *Lupius*, the other *Caninius*, being both devoted unto *Pompey*, having in pub-

Rex poſt. Alex. Max. Cic. Luc.

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lick read Letters from *Ptolomy*, whereby this Prince desired of the Senate, that *Pompey* might be entrusted with the power of restoring him to his Kingdom; thereupon grew up amongst the Senators sundry different Opinions.

Plut. *in* Pompe.

Publius Servilius Isauricus was of opinion not to give him any Assistance at all, and it had been so carried by Plurality of Voices, had not *Caninius* opposed himself thereto, as his Office of Tribune qualified him. *Hortensius*, *Marcus Lucullus*, and *Cicero* maintain'd, that the former Decree of the Senate ought to be observ'd in behalf of *Lentulus*, and that seeing the Oracle permitted him not to re-establish the *King* by force of Arms, it behoved him to find out some other convenient way of restoring him. *Crassus* was of opinion, that Commission should be given to three Ambassadors, which should be indifferently chose out of the Senate. *Bibulus*, a declar'd Enemy of *Cæsar*, and by consequence of *Pompey* his Son in Law, concurr'd

also

also in the same Opinion, of sending three Ambassadors with *Crassus*, but excepting all such of the *Senate*, which bore any other Office, as *Pompey* and *Lentulus* did. This Opinion was liked by the new Consuls *Marcellus* and *Philip*, and generally by all those that had been Consuls, except *Volcatius*, an intimate friend of *Pompey's*, and *Isauricus*, who had been his Lieutenant against *Sertorius*, and against *Mithridates*.

About this time, his Greatness became suspected unto most of the *Senat*, especially by reason of his Alliance and Intimacy with *Cæsar*. It was observ'd a good while, that he always ambition'd the greatest Commands, and that, as soon as ever one Office was expir'd, he presently grasped after some other, at any rate; so that having put an end to the Civil Wars in *Italy*, which took beginning presently after the death of *Sylla*, he procured to be sent into *Spain* against *Sertorius*, then soon after against the *Pirates*; afterwards by his Factions, he caused *Lucius Lucullus*

cullus to be recall'd in the midſt of his ſucceſſes againſt *Mithridates*, and to be ſent himſelf in his ſtead, to command the *Legions* in the *Eaſt*: To conclude, after the Death of this Prince, there being no conſiderable Wars ſtirring, he obtein'd a new Commiſſion, to provide *Corn* for the ſpeedy releif of the neceſſities, that *Italy* was then reduc'd unto. The *Romans* thought it no leſs glorious, to ſupply the wants of their Country, than it was to expel their Enemies; wherefore, this latter Commiſſion ſtirr'd up all the Envy imaginable againſt him, even thoſe that ſeem'd to be his Friends before, upon this occaſion, refuſed to favour his Deſigne, in re-eſtabliſhing the *King* of *Egypt*, becauſe he had the Commiſſion of providing *Corn* for five *Years*, whereas it was againſt the Laws, that any ſhould Execute two Offices at once.

Plut. in Pom.

Notwithſtanding all theſe oppoſitions, *Lucius Libo*, whoſe Daughter afterwards Marryed *Pompey's* youngeſt Son, a *Tribune* named *Plan-*

Ad Fam. l. 1. Ep. 1.

Plautius Hipſæus, who had been his Quæſtor againſt *Mithridates*, and generally all his Friends ſo highly declared for him in this Matter, that no body made any doubt, but that he earneſtly deſired this Imployment, although he declared it not openly himſelf.

He had receiv'd too many and publick favours from *Lentulus*, to have dar'd to oppoſe him openly. It was *Lentulus*, that procur'd for him the Power of the *Corn* buſineſs, but this important Service, which had incurr'd to this *Pro-conſul* the hatred of all thoſe which pretended to this Office, did never a whit the more aſſure him of the Friendſhip of *Pompey*, for no thing indeed could aſſure it. *Cicero* who knew him better than any Man, and who had the greateſt Obligation unto the ſame *Proconſul*, for his being releas'd from Baniſhment, ceaſed not to importune *Pompey*, in favour of their common Benefactor; and as this Oraror in this Rancounter, perform'd the part of a grateful friend; *Pompey* on his part, thought beſt to diſſemble his

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Ingratitude, so far as to make a Speech in the *Senat*-House, with all the Vigour and seeming Kindness could be, in behalf of *Lentulus*: Belo there was very little credit given to it, he was observ'd to compass his Ends by such oblique Courses, that there was no trust given * to any thing he either did, or said.

Pompeius fremit queritur, sed utrum fronte an mente dubitatur, l. 1. Ep. 14. Ad Att.

You give there, *said I*, interrupting him at these words, a strange Character of the great *Pompey*, and I could never have thought it, by his Surname and great Reputation. You meane, answer'd *Cæsarion*, the *Pharsalia*; but you shall find afterwards, that *Lucan* has represented him quite different from what he was, and that many times there is no good ground for the greatest Reputations. I confess, *answer'd I*, at my turn, if things were as you say, *Lentulus* deserves to be pity'd; for there can nothing be more cruel, than to be abus'd by a Person, that one has serv'd, and to be expos'd to the Malice of Enemies, that one has got by serving his Friend. But I expected how-

however, that *Pompey's* Enemies would forbeare persecuting *Lentulus*, when they saw he was betray'd by him? You are much deceiv'd, answered *Caesar*, this Treason repair'd not the mischief don them by *Lentulus*, in preferring *Pompey* before them, and their hatred was no way mitigated, on the contrary, they us'd all means possible in protracting the business, because it could not be terminated, but in favour of the *Pro-Consul*; for not agreeing to employ *Pompey* in the business, nor any one else to his prejudice, should a final resolution be taken, they could not avoid confirming the former Act of the *Senat*, which had nominated *Lentulus* on the termes the Oracle had prescrib'd, of seeking the *King* of *Egypt* otherwise, than by force of Armes.

In effect, the Opinion of *Bibulus* of granting a Commission about the the matter in agitation to three Ambassadours, excluding amongst others, *Pompey* and *Lentulus*, out of the number, because they were pos-

sels'd of other Offices, was not insisted upon next day, as it had been till then, and there was only deliberated about those which confirm'd *Lentulus*, and those which propos'd *Pompey*.

The usual form was, that they should first consider that which confirm'd *Lentulus*, because it had been propos'd by Consulary Persons; whereas the other had only been propos'd by the *Tribunes*: But *Ludius*, one of those *Tribunes*, seeing which way the *Senat* was inclin'd, fear'd, that if they should begin to deliberate upon *Lentulus*, that he would be confirm'd in spight of his Enemies; to prevent this Danger, and to use his last endeavour in his friends behalf, it came into his minde to propose, that it was most expedient, to deliberate of *Pompey* first.

Most of the *Senatours* highly rejected this Innovation, but the *Consuls* did not so, they were ever of the Judgment of *Bibulus*, equally contrary both unto *Lentulus* and *Pompey*. But seeing the cause almost deserted,

they sided with those that favour'd *Pompey*, not with intent to confirm him, but with a Design, to hinder *Lentulus*'s friends from confirming him, in spending all the Session as the former had been, in frivolous Disputes. To this purpose they declar'd, not as the others did, against the *Tribunes* unaccustom'd proceeding, neither did they much regard it; and keeping up the Feud amongst the several Factions, by this dubious proceedings instead of composing differences, which they might easily have don by their Authority, they did what they desir'd, which was, that nothing at all should be don, and so they parted the third time, without coming to any Conclusion.

The Enemies of *Lentulus*, for to frustrate his Pretensions, only needed to stave it off to the Sitting following, which was to be the * 15 of *January*, because the *Senate* could not meet all the rest of the Month, for sundry reasons, that time being appointed for giving Audience to *Ambassadors*, so that no other business was

* *Ad Fam. l. 1. Ep. 4.*

to be heard, until they were dispatch'd. The last day therefore of this Session, *Curion* the Father, who had not hitherto appear'd in the Matter, spake smartly, both against *Pompey*, and against *Lentulus*. And although *Brutus* had almost declin'd the Opinion, which he at first gave, of joyning with the friends of *Lentulus* against *Pompey*, *Pompey*'s party grew so insolent, and took such Liberty in speaking, that every one spake and concluded what they listed; so that this Sitting also was as fruitlesly spent, as the others had been before.

Yet although the pretensions of *Lentulus* were still delay'd by these Artifices, the *Tribune Cato*, fearing yet that it might succeed, propos'd to the People about the beginning of *February*, to discharge him of his Government of *Cilicia*. His Son, as the manner was in the like cases, went into mourning to solicit for his Father, and his friends used all manner of Endeavours in his behalf. It was strictly prohibited, to treat with the Peo-

People about any buſineſs whatſoever, on the Days wherein the flight of Birds was obſerved; and all Magiſtrats having the priviledg to obſerve them when they pleas'd, *Lentulus*'s friends made uſe of this Artifice, to hinder the People from deliberating of *Cato*'s Propoſition againſt him. A little while after, another *Tribune*, called *Lucius Racilius*, who was his Friend, removed this obſtacle by interpoſing his Authority, after the uſual form, according to the priviledg of his Office. For when a *Tribune* oppos'd himſelf unto what the reſt had propos'd, they could not proceed any farther without the concurrence of the People, which was difficult and rare to be ſeen.

During theſe Tranſactions, *Pompey* making a Speech to the People about another buſineſs, inſtead of receaving thanks and commendations, he was ſcoff'd and revil'd; amongſt other things he was tax'd, for ſtarving the People for want of Corn, their indignation proceeded ſo farr, that they accus'd him of the moſt

horrible Crimes, but especially, they jeer'd him publickly, at his design of restoring the *King* of *Egypt*.

The *Tribune Cato* some time after, in the *Senat*, prest him so hard, and was so favourably heard by the whole Assembly, that *Pompey*, how close soever he carri'd it, could not at least conceale his trouble and grief. These two misfortunes, having plainly discover'd unto him, the Envy which all the World bore him, made him wholly lay aside all farther thoughts of the business of *Egypt*: And some time after, *Lentulus* writing to him in such a way, as if he believ'd, he never had thoughts of seeking after it; he was so pleas'd with the *Letter*, that he forthwith imbrac'd *Cicero*'s opinion of the thing, in wishing it to their Common friend.

I perceive then, *said I*, it was not *Pompey* alone, that knew how to dissemble in those dayes, and *Lentulus* knew how to doe it as well as him. It is not a thing to be blam'd, *reply'd Cæsarion*, to wink at the failing of

our

our friends, when this Connivance may recal them to their Duty; on the contrary ther's nothing more manly and generous, and that was the case, as you see, of *Lentulus*. But to dissemble as *Pompey* did, by his evil designs against his friend, and to leave no meanes unattempted to effect them, is the basest of all treacheries.

But what expectation, *reply'd I*, could *Cicero* have for *Lentulus*, and what could this *Proconsul* do, without imploying open Force against a great Kingdom, where the fame of the Oracle had been spread, which enjoyn'd, that it should not be attaqu'd by open Force: You are not very deep sighted, *answer'd Cæsarion*. The Oracle only prohibited furnishing the *King* with an Army to re-establish him: Could not *Lentulus* have left the *King*, as 'twere *incognito*, in some place near the Borders, and in the mean time with a good Army, goe beseige *Alexandria*: then when he had taken it, leaving good Garrisons behind him, come back and send the *King* into his Kingdom, who should

find all places ready to receive him; and were not this, *said I*, to re-establish him by force of Armes, against the Prohibition made by the *Senate*? not at all, *reply'd Cæsarion*, for in the time *Lentulus* subdu'd the *Egyptians*, the *King* was not with him; and when the *King* was return'd, there was no Army, and so it could not be said that he had an Army given him, to restore him to his Country. You jeere, *said I*, to reason after this manner, as if it were not all one, that *Ptolomy* had been with *Lentulus*, or had not been with him, seeing the *Proconsul* subdu'd *Egypt* by force. You are dul of Apprehension, *reply'd Cæsarion*, but if you will not believe me, it may be you will give more credit to *Pompey* and *Cicero*. Harken then to the very words of this Orator, writing to *Lentulus*, as well in his "own Name, as in *Pompey's*: It is "for you to judge what you can undertake, being Master of *Cilicia* "and *Cyprus*, and if you conceive it "feasible, to take *Alexandria* and "the rest of *Egypt*, doubtless it is for "your Credit and for the Repub-

"licks, that you should hasten thi-
"ther, with your Fleet and Army,
"leaving the *King* at *Ptolemais*, or
"some other adjacent place, to the
"end, that when you have appeas'd
"the Rebellion, and plac'd good
"Garrisons every where, the *King*
"might returne thither. In this
"manner you will re-establish him,
"as the *Senat* at first appointed you,
"and he will be restor'd without
"Force, as our *Zealots* affirm, the
"*Sybil* appointed it should be done.

Sic habeto, me cum illa re sæpe communicata, de illius ad te sententia, & autoritate scribere; Te posse perscribere, qui Ciliciam Cyprumque tenes, quid officere, & quid consequi possis, & si res facultatem habitura videatur, ut Alexandriam atque Ægyptum tenere possis, esse & tui, & nostri Imperii dignitatis, Ptolemaide, aut aliquo propinquo loco, Rege collocato, te cum classe atque exercitu profici Alexandriam, ut cum illam pace præsidiisque firmaris, Ptolomæus redeat in regnum. Ita fore ut per te restituatur, quemadmodum initio Senatus censuit, & sine multitudine reducatur, quemadmodum homines religiosi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt. Ad Famil, *l.* 1. *Ep.* 7. You

You see by this, *continued Cæsarion*, making a little pause, the truth of what I told you at first, that in the main, the *Sybil*'s Books were not much valu'd: For *Cicero* adds in plain Terms, that how strange soever, the advice, he gives to *Lentulus*, does appear, *all the World should judge of it by the Success: so that he should only be careful to take his measures so well as to be sure not to fail in his Design; and if he did not, he had as good do nothing at all.*

I freely confess, that I should never have thought of such a cunning peice of Policy, *reply'd I*, being able not to contain any longer, and I see thereby, *Heaven may be compounded with at any time.*

But pray, let me know if this Project succeeded. *Lentulus*, reply'd *Cæsarion*, did not think himself strong enough to follow this Counsel, and the Troops, which he could privately have furnished *Ptolomy* withal, appeared not sufficient unto this *Prince*, to restore him without the Presence of the *Pro-Consul.*

But

But there was another which commanded at the same time in *Syria*, who was not altogether so scrupulous. It was *Aulus Gabinius*, one tutour'd by *Catiline*, of whom he had been tenderly belov'd in his Youth, and his Actions did not derogate from his Education. He was esteem'd a great Dancer, as *Ptolomy* was a *Player* upon the *Flute*; he rifled his own Province worse than the *Banditty* or wild *Arabians* would have done, had they had their Will. But especially he exercised his Cruelty against all sorts of *Publicans*, out of Envy against the Order of Knights they were of, who had in an eminent manner defended *Cicero* against him; for it was under his *Consulship*, and especially by his Authority that this Orator was condemn'd to to Banishment.

Dion. *l.* 39. Strab. *l.* P7. *ad* Catilinam *amatorem suum Ejus vir* Catilina, *l.*3. c.14.

Ex eventu homines de tuo consilio existimaturos; si exploratum tibi sit, non cunctandum; sin dubium, non conandum, ibid.

His

His proceedings had rendr'd him so odious at *Rome*, that having according to Custom given the *Senat* advice of a War, that he had began and brought to a happy Conclusion against the *Kings* of *Judea*, his Letters were slighted, and little or no notice taken of them, which had never been done before unto any else besides, neither would the *Senate* vouchsafe to thank the Gods in his Name. But he grew never the wiser nor better for this disgrace. There being no more to be got in *Syria*, which he had utterly ruin'd by his Oppressions, he design'd a War against the *Arabians*, when *Mithridates* Prince of the *Parthians* came to crave his assistance, who was expell'd by the *King* his Brother out of *Media*, which had been assigned unto him for his Portion. Although it was strictly prohibited by Law, that no *Pro-consul* should go out of his Province, nor undertake, or declare any War whatsoever, without the *Senate*'s expres Order, yet *Gabinius* made no Scruple of ingaging in this

De Provin. Consular in Pisonem ad. Q. F. l. 2. Ep. 7.

this Quarrel, in hope of making advantage of the great Riches of these two *Princes*, by their mutual animosities. He had already passed *Euphrates* with his Army, to this purpose, when *Ptolomy* met him with Letters from *Pompey*, the Friend and Protector of them both, who was then newly declared *Consul* for the ensuing Year, by which Letters, he conjur'd *Gabinius* to hearken to the Proposals this *Prince* should make him, concerning his re-establishment in his Kingdom.

Whether it was out of regard to the *Sybils* Oracle, or that the *Parthian* War seem'd less difficult and more profitable, than that of *Egypt*, most of the chiefest Men about *Gabinius* declared themselves against *Ptolomy*, *Antonius* only excepted, who though very young, commanded the Cavalry, and was afterwards one of the Triumvirs, and an intimate friend of this *Prince*. *Ap. l. 5. & Plut. in Ant.*

But the more the business was dissuaded, the more *Gabinius* resolv'd to be courted, and to make his advantage

tage by it. *Proclomy*, who resolv'd to spare no cost, to procure his consent, offer'd for the General and the Army, Ten Thousand *Talents*, which amounts, in our *Money*, to about Seventeen *Millions*, the greatest part to be paid in advance, and the rest as soon as he was restor'd. It was no hard matter for *Antonius*, to prevail with *Gabinius* to accept this offer, who thirsted more after it than he himself.

Egypt was govern'd by the *King*'s Eldest Daughter, who I told you was Proclaim'd *Queen*, when the *King* fled away. The *Syrian Prince* that Marryed her, prov'd a very mean and brutish Person. Whether it was his Natural Love to Riches, or that he thought not himself well Establish'd, he resolved to make use of his Time. His first care was, to take the Body of *Alexander* the Great, out of the Coffin of Massy *Gold*, which he converted to his own use, having till then lain quietly therein, and caus'd it to be put into one of Glass. But this, and several other the like Acti-

Actions by him done, render'd him equally odious unto the *Queen* and her Subjects, ſo that ſhe caus'd him to be ſtrangl'd not long after. And the friends of this *Princeſs*, ſeeing the need ſhee had of the Support and Counſel of ſome Perſon of eminent Fortune and Merit, againſt her Fathers deſigns, they made choiſe of one of the *Princes* of the greateſt Fame in all the Eaſt, for her ſecond Husband.

He was nam'd *Archelaus*, Son of the great *Mithridates*, though he was not really, but the Son of his Leivtenant. This Leivtenant, being ſuſpected by his *Prince*, about his managment of a Treaty with *Sylla*, thought it his wiſeſt way, in time to change his Party to preſerve his life, and joyning himſelf to the *Romans*, he much enrich'd himſelf thereby; and alſo receiv'd the titles of Friend and Allye of *Rome*. His Son, following his Example, ingaged alſo in the ſame party, and was made *Prince* of *Comagene* by *Pompey*, in recompence of Service, perform'd by

by him. Having contracted an intimate Friendship with *Gabinius*, in a time when this *Proconsul* made War in those Provinces, under other Generals; as soon as he came to command in chief in *Syria*, this *Prince* went to him, with a designe of attending him in the *Parthian* War, there to Merit, by his Service, new Favours and Commands under the *Romans*. But the *Senate* not approving this designe, and the *Queen* of *Egypt* soliciting him at the same time, he withdrew himself privatly from *Gabinius* to consummate his Marriage, judging the *Romans* would hinder it, should they have knowledg of it.

Strab. *l.* 17.

About six Months after this Marriage, and in the Spring of the yeare DCXCVIII under the *Consulship* of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, *Gabinius* left his Province to the care of his Son, who was but young and weakly guarded, and with his Army marched through *Palestine* towards *Egypt*. He received all the assistance could be desired, from *Antipater* the Father of *Herod* the Great, into whose

Dion. *l.* 39. T. *liv.* 105. Egesip. *l.* 1. c. 21. Jose. Plut. *in* Anto.

whose hands he committed the chief Power of those Countries after the Wars, I told you he had in those parts. The greatest difficulty at present was, what course was best to take from thence to the fronteers of *Egypt*, over great and deep sands, full of Serpents, or by the Fens and Marshes of the Lake *Sirbonides*, in either of which there was no fresh water to be had: But *Antonius* marching before with the *Cavalry*, had so well prepar'd the way for the rest of the Army, that it all arriv'd safely at *Peluſium*.

It was a large, strong and populous Sea-port Towne, which was, as may be said, the Key of the whole Kingdom, and the only convenient Haven neere the Sea: But it being cheifly inhabited and defended by *Jews*, whose neighbourhood, together with the conveniency of Traffique, invited them thither; it was no difficult matter for *Antipater*, by the familiarity and commerce he had with them, to perswade them, to deliver the City to the *Romans*;

Ptolomy being transported with joy at so happy a beginning, also with rage against the *Egyptians*, would have put all that were in the City to the Sword, but that *Antonius* dissuaded him from it. The Army, being divided into two Battalions, soon after marched forwards, and meeting that of *Egypt* commanded by *Archelaus*, fought and took *Archelaus* prisoner, and defeated his Army. *Gabinius* might soon have put an end to this War, in carefully keeping this *Prince*, in whome the *Queen* and the *Egyptians* put their whole confidence. But he thought, that if he should so soon settle *Ptolomy* and with so little labour, this *Prince* would use some pretext of breaking his word, and not pay the Mony according to his promise: He therefore thought it better, to get as great a Ransom as he could by his Prisoner, and to give him opportunity of making his escape, in consideration of their former friendship.

Afterwards he caus'd his Fleet to saile up the River, where they met the

the *Egyptian* Fleet, which was alſo worſted, and then he march'd directly to *Alexandria*, with his Land-forces. *Archelaus*, being retir'd thither, march'd forth with his Army to give him Battel. When he encamped and would intrench himſelf, the *Egyptians* cry'd out, that he ſhould get Mercenaries to work at the publick charge, if he would; you may eaſily gueſs what reſiſtance ſuch Soldiers would make. *Archelaus*, who in all likelihood acquitted himſelf better than his Soldiers, caus'd himſelf [ſeeing all was loſt) to be kill'd. *Antonius* having contracted friendſhip with this Unfortunate *Prince*, whilſt he was with *Gabinius*, caus'd his Body to be found out amongſt the Slain, and to be Royally Interr'd.

Valer, Max. *l.*8. c.1.

Dio. *l.*1. P.58. Cæſar. *l.*3. *of Sivil War.* T. *lib.*6. 150. Strab. *l.*12, 17, *in* Piſon. Dion. *l.*39. *ad.* Att. *l.* 4. *Ep.*9. Por. *in* Eaſub. Ege. *l.*1. c.2.

Gabinius plac'd very ſtrong Garriſons of *Gauls* and *Germans* in *Alexandria*, under *Roman* Commanders. *Ptolomy* being thus reſtor'd to his Kingdom, caus'd the *Queen*, his daughter to be Slain, and alſo the chiefeſt Men of the Kingdom, un-

der pretext that they favour'd the Revolt, but it was truly to seiz their Goods to satisfy *Gabinius*: The *Egyptians* suffer'd all these Oppressions without Murmuring. But a few dayes after, a *Roman* Soldier, for killing a Cat by accident, was by the common People cut in peices on the place, for the violation done to the Country Gods, the authority of *Ptolomy* nor *Gabinius* not being able to restrain them.

Behold, *said I*, at these words, seeing *Cæsarion* make a pause, a very strange story from first to last, and a strangely various destiny, of this Unfortunate *King*.

But pray let me know, if you please, if any thing else of Remarque befel him afterwards; there is nothing else known, *reply'd Cæsarion*, but that a decay'd Knight of *Rome*, called * *Caius Rabirius Posthumus*, who had furnish'd or procur'd for him, several great sums of Money at *Rome*, when he was fully restored to his Kingdom, went to demand payment. This *Prince* told him

Pro *Rabirio, Postumo.*

him, he fear'd he ſhould never be able to ſatisfie him, unleſs he would take the care and charge of his Revenues, by which means, he might by degrees reimburſe himſelf. But this Unfortunate Creditour, having accepted the offer for fear of loſing his Debt: The *King* ſoon after found a pretext to comit him Priſoner, although he was one of the Antienteſt, and beſt of *Cæſars* friends; and that *Pompey* was alſo in a manner Caution for the Debt; the Money being lent in his preſence, and the Obligations paſt by his requeſt, at a Country-Houſe of his Neere *Alba*.

But *Rabirius* had the good Fortune, not long after of eſcaping out of Priſon, recovering out of *Egypt* more miſerable than he went thither; and to compleat this Miſery, at his return to *Rome*, * he was judicially accuſed, to have aſſiſted *Ptolomy*, to corrupt the *Senate*, by the Sums of Money which he had lent him to this purpoſe, that he had forfeited his Honour of Knighthood, by the Imployment he had taken upon him

* Suet. *in* Claud. *c.* 16.

in *Egypt*, and that he had correſponded and ſhared with *Gabinius*, in the Money that had been given him. The admirable diſcourſe *Cicero* made in his defence, and which we have yet remaining, is an Eternal Monument, of the ingratitude and perfidiouſneſs of this unworthy *King*; he dyed in the peaceable poſſeſſion of *Egypt*, ſoon after this wicked Action, and about four Years after his Reſtauration: An Authentical Copy of his laſt Will was brought to *Rome*, to be depoſited in the publick Treaſury, having made the People of *Rome* his Executors, he conjru'd the *Senat*, in the name of all their Gods. (Caution of their Alliance) to favour the diſpoſal, which he made of his Kingdom to *Ptolomy* his eldeſt Son, who was afterwards ſirnamed *Dennis*, and to *Cleopatra* his eldeſt Daughter whom he alſo enjoyned to Marry togeather, according to the cuſtom of that Country. It is alſo found, that *Pompey* was appointed Guardian to the young *King* by the People, who caus'd him to be ſo baſely Murder'd

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fower Years after. This is in few words, *said Cæsarion*, what we find upon Record, of the Life and Actions of this *King*, *Player on flutes*.

For a Fidler, *said I*, I think he was no foole. It seemes to me, all things consider'd, that he could not doe better in his ill Fortune, and that he knew to be Cruel, Prodigal, and Patient, for his own ends, as occasion requir'd. But especially I commend him, for engaging *Gabinius* in his Restoration, and were I not loath to be too troublesome to you, I would desire to be inform'd, what hapn'd to *Gabinius afterwards*. There hapn'd, *reply'd Cæsarion*, nothing but what must needs come to pass. The Pyrats taking occasion of his absence, overrun and wasted all his Government, without any resistance; and the Publicans of the Neighbour *Provinces*, being able no better than those of *Syria*, by reason of the multitude of Robbers, not to convey the Money by land-carriage, which they were oblig'd to pay to the publick Treasury at the time prefix'd, they

Dion. *l.* 39. *Ad* Att. *l.* 4. *Ep.* 16.

were forc'd to take up Money at *Rome*, at excessive Interest, to doe it, to their great Damage.

The first News that was in *Italy* of *Ptolomy*'s Restauration, being brought to the Waters at *Puteoli*, whither Recreation as well as Health invited much good company to resort, it passed no sooner from thence to *Rome*, but all the several sorts of complaints and greivances, which were to be preferr'd against *Gabinius*, were, by the parties interested, dispers'd about amongst the People; so that it was resolv'd, to inflict severe Punishments upon this *Proconsul*, at his returne to *Rome*. The Fathers of the *Senat* were the forwardest in moving the Magistrats, to be inform'd of his Crimes, and there was nothing less than Death intended for him. He had not given the *Senat* advice of his expedition into *Egypt*, concluding it would be worse censur'd, than was that of *Judea*; and the *Consul Crassus*, who was to succeed him in *Syria*, having sent one of his Lieutenants, to take possession of the Go-

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vernment in his name, *Gabinius*, to compleat his insolency, refus'd to resigne although his time was expired.

But how great soever this affront was to *Crassus*, having a greater love for Money than Honour, *Gabinius* would have soon appeas'd him; in so much that *Cicero* sometime after made a motion in the *Senate*, to publish again the Oracle of the *Sybils*, the more to exasperate Mens minds; but *Crassus* oppos'd himself thereunto, as much as *Pompey*, and both of them were so displeas'd at *Cicero*, that they reviled him with his Banishment. You may imagine how this Orator answer'd them, seeing he desired no better Subject to insist upon, and that his reproach rather animated than discourag'd him. To conclude, their *Consul-ship* ending soon after, he caused the business to be brought under deliberation.

The new *Consuls*, *Domitius* and *Appius*, were not devoted unto *Gabinus*, as were the former; *Domitius* being promoted unto the Dignity

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in spight of *Pompey*, was upon this score his Enemy. *Appius* was his Ally, but he affected Popularity, and being moreover very Covetous, he was for compelling *Gabinius* to purchase his Protection. So it was agree'd by common Consent, that the Oracle should be again published.

Although *Gabinius* had been remov'd from his Government, from the beginning of the Year DCXCIX. by *Crassus* himself, who went the end of the precedent Year to take possession of it, yet he made no haste in coming to *Rome*, he would let the Peoples anger towards him to abate, and give time to his Friends to gain and corrupt his Judges and Accusers, by the vast Sums of Money he had sent before him to that purpose; but hearing that his delay rather exasperated Mens minds against him than not, and that the *Tribunes*, displeased with his Stratagems, resolved to proceed to his Condemnation in his absence, at last he set forwards, and on the way gave out that he was going to *Rome*, to demand a

publick Triumph of the *Senate* for his two Expeditions into *Judea* and *Egypt*.

And in effect, being arrived neer *Rome* the 19 of *September*, he enter'd not into the City to rights, but stai'd some Miles off, as the Generals were wont to doe, that pretended unto the Triumph, which was no sooner known, but he was accus'd of three several Crimes, in the usual form of Justice. First against the State, for restoring the *King* of *Egypt*. *Next* of Interest, for the great Oppressions committed by him in *Syria*. And *Lastly*, For buying of voices, when he was made *Consul* 5 *Yeares* before. Af. *in* Pison *ad* Q. F. *l.* 3. *Ep.* 1. 2. & 3.

These Accusations, having soon made him relinquish the pretension of a Triumph, he came to *Rome* to defend himself the 27 of *September*, privatly in the night time; and in the poorest Equipage, that ever *Proconsul* did. Next day he appear'd, as he was assign'd before the *Prator*, who was to be the Cheif Judg as to the Crime of State, he was a Person of known

known Worth and Integrity. Ten days after, he appear'd before the *Senat*, to give an account of his Government; but intending to go out after he had done it in a slight manner, he was stayed by the *Consuls*, and at the same time the Publicans of *Syria* were call'd into the *Senat*, that he might answer their Complaints. *Cicero* speaking in their behalf, *Gabinius* defended himself by calling him Exile, with a low voice. But the whole *Senat* at this word rising up as 'twere with one accord, imposed silence on him, the Publicans testified no less displeasure, and the *Consul Appius*, having also declar'd himself an Accuser, named the Witnesses and Accessorys of *Gabinius*'s Crimes, so that he could not answer a word.

Fower dayes after he presented himself before the People, the concourse was so great, and the first resentment of his horrible Crimes so odious, that he had like to be stifled or torn to peices. Especially a *Tribune* of the People, *Cajus Memmius* accus'd him

him with ſo much vehemency, and to ſo general a liking, that he could not avoid being condemn'd to Death, or at leaſt to perpetual Impriſonment, but that his Son, whom I mentioned to you before, being there preſent, ſupplicated *Memmius* to have compaſſion of him: But this *Tribune*, tranſported with Pride, at the good ſucceſs of his enterpriſe, let the unfortunate Son lye at his feet, without taking the leaſt notice of him: The People being moved with ſome tenderneſs at ſuch a dutiful Object, the favourableneſs of the conjuncture gave courage to another *Tribune*, which he dared not do before, alſo being gain'd by *Gabinius*, to ſpake in his behalf, and made the Officer free him, that had already ſeized on his Body. Valer. Max. l. 8. c. 1.

The People not deſiring to prevent the ordinary Judges in this Cauſe, as they were wont ſomtimes to doe; it was ſomtime after debated before them, and the Aſſembly was no leſs before the *Prætors Tribunal*, than it had been in the publick place: They were

were to the number of Seventy, chosen partly out of the *Senate*, partly out of the order of Knights, and of the *Tribunes* of the Treasury. There were several accusers; but he that spake in the behalf of the rest, perform'd it so coldly, that every body suspected he was corrupted by *Gabinius*, as also the Judges that favour'd him. *Pompey* neglected no opportunity of serving him; he us'd all his endeavours to reconcile him to *Cicero*, and even to oblidge this Orator, to plead his cause, but to no purpose, and *Cicero* could not dispense himself, from Witnessing against him.

It was urged in his behalf, that it was the interest of the Commonwealth, to expel *Archelaus* out of *Egypt*; whose Fleet hinder'd the Navigation and Commerce of *Rome*, and the adjacent Seas, and gave all sorts of assistance to Pyrats, who exercised all manner of Cruelties upon the Subjects of the Republick. It was also alleadged, this expedition was permitted unto *Gabinius*, by a Law whereof we have no Record; that

that at the worst, the Oracle did not relate the present business, and that the matter hapned long before, in the Person of a former *King* of *Egypt*, whereof I made mention, who had also been expell'd out of his Kingdom, and pray'd assistance of the *Senat*. But if the Oracle meant his Successour, the *Sybil* not having express'd what Punishment they deserv'd, that should restore this *Prince*, by force of Arms against its Prohibition, no body hath right to determin it.

Dion. *l.* 39. Ad *Att.* *l.* 4. *Ep.* 16. *l.* 3. *Ep.* 4.

But with all these Evasions *Gabinius* durst not have contested, were it not for a rumor spread abroad, that *Pompey* was to be made Dictator: This Report was not without some collour. The Election of *Consuls* being usual about the beginning of *August*, was deferr'd until towards the end of *October*, by several slights and interests, that nothing regarded the affaires of *Gabinius*; and these hindrances not being likely to remove of themselves, it was beleiv'd recourse must be had to the means us'd at all times

times formerly in the like occasions, which was to create a *Dictator*, whose unlimited power, was only able to reduce all persons to their Duty.

You may easily beleive on this occasion, no body could more justly pretend to it than *Pompey*, although it's true, the *Tribunes* did not propose it in due form, but several Months after. The Rumor that was spread abroad of it before hand, serv'd to intimidate the Judges, the greater part whereof were Persons much inferiour to him; and it was something strange, that there were found, in this Conjuncture thirty-two, that had the honesty and courage to condemn *Gabinius*, against Thirty-eight that declar'd him Innocent. *Domitius Calvinius* amongst others, (through a partial Ostentation, the like whereof was never seen,) acquitted the Criminal by open voice, whereas he should have given his Judgment by Scrutiny, as others did. Another rose off the Bench, in sight of all the People, before the Session was ended, as soon

Dion. l. 40.

Ad *Att.* l. 4. *Ep.* 16 l. 8. *Ep.* 14.

soon as ever the Voices were taken, to be the first carrier of the News to *Pompey*.

See here, *said I*, at these words, a happy Villian. Don't make too much haste, *said Cæsarion*, and stay till the end, seeing your desire to know all. It wanted not much, but that the People had tore all the Judges to peices, at the first motion of their Rage. One of *Gabinius*'s freemen, that bore some command under him in *Syria*, being accus'd as one of his Accessaries, bore also the Punishment. His Wretches business was heard an hower after, before other Judges, he was condemn'd with the greater severity, for Rage, that his Master had been accquitted and discharg'd.

During these Transactions the River *Tyber* overflow'd its banks on a suddain, with so great violence, that it overthrew many Houses and swept away many Persons, as well at *Rome*, as in the adjacent parts. The People suppos'd there was something extraordinary in this Accident, and look'd upon it, as a Judgment from Heaven Dion. *l.* 39.

upon them, for *Gabinius* and his Judges, having ſlighted the Oracle of the *Sibyls*. I told you, he ſtood accus'd, for three ſeveral Crimes: Being therefore acquitted for that againſt the State, he was proſecuted for his Extortions, by the ſame *Tribune Memmius*, which had ſo ſharply proſecuted him before the People; by *Tiberius Nero*, Father of the *Emperour* of that name; and by *Cajus* and *Lucius*, Brothers to the ſame *Antonius*, that was afterwards *Tryumvir*, and that commanded his *Cavalry*. The great *Cato* (who, I told you had the interview with *Ptolomey* at *Rhodes*) preſided in this Judgment in quality of *Prætor*. He had been indiſpos'd, and for that reaſon Judgment was deferr'd, the Judges were alſo chang'd, but *Gabinius* thought himſelf ſo fully acquitted, that he took not the paines nor trouble, to gaine them.

Pompey having ſtill the charge of the *Corn* buſineſs, was abſent from *Rome*, repairing the damnages made by the Inundation of the River, which had

had ravadged, deſtroy'd, and ſpoil'd, vaſt quanteties of Grain, and the moſt fertile Fields of all *Italy*. But receiving advice of the danger *Gabinius* was in, he came as near the City as he could, to try to ſave him once more, and his Office not permitting him to enter into the City, he aſſembled the People without the Walls, and harrangu'd them to that effect. He publickly read Letters from *Ceſar*, wherein he recommended *Gabinius* unto him, with all the affection that could be, and for the laſt Remedy, he prevail'd with *Cicero* to plead for him; for which this Orator was ſurnamed *Turn-coat* to reproach either his weakneſs, or inconſtancy. Dion. 39. Valer. Max. l. 4. c. 2.

I perceive then, *ſaid I*, at theſe words, *Pompey* was as zealous a Friend, as *Cicero* was a weak Enemy. *Pompey, reply'd Ceſarion*, had, as all ambitious Men have, the vulgar Maxim, which almoſt comprehends the skill of the Politicians of theſe times, to be a good Friend and a cruel Enemy, without any Judgment in chooſ-

ings, Friends or Enemies. But neither he nor they need be oblig'd to venture so far for their Friends, if there were none but good Men. It is only for bad Men, that these extraordinary endeavours of Credit and Authority need be us'd; and how bad a business soever befals an honest Man, the regular forms are always sufficient to bring him off. So that this resolvedness, and great zeale which is shewn for defending and protecting vitious Persons, is so far from being Praise-worthy, that nothing is more odious, and detestable; seeing that in effect, it hath only self-Interest or Vanity for its Motive, and Injustice for its Scope.

Beware of Digression, answer'd I, and pray let me know, if *Gabinius* was condemn'd or acquitted, this second time he was condemn'd, *said Cæsarion*, to perpetual Banishment, and his goods confiscated notwithstanding the power of *Pompey* and Eloquence of *Cicero*. But so far esteeming him one of the best Commanders in *Rome*, making himself

self Master of the Republick six *Years* after, he recal'd him out of Banishment, and gave him the Command of a little Army in *Illyria*, where he was routed by the *Barbarians* of the Country, and being forc'd to fly to *Salonia*, he there ended his dayes, not long after.

Cæsar *de* Bell. Allex. App. *in* Illiric.

CÆSARION.

The *Third* Day.

IF you did not know as well as I, that Nature had endow'd your Friend, with two of the moſt incomparable *Talents* in the World, I mean, a prodigious Memory, and an excellent Judgment; you would ſcarce beleive, that he recited to me *extempore*, the Hiſtories that I have related to you. Although I had heard much of his great Accompliſhments, yet I was not a little ſurpris'd, for he look'd not paſt three or four times, on his Books and Papers, to make ſo long a *Narration*, and he had all he ſaid, as ready in his mind, as if he related to me his own particular concerns. I was only deſirous to be ſatisfi'd, where 'twas, that he read and found

ſo

so many considerable things, as he mention'd to me, and which I do not remember, to have Read in the *Greek* nor *Roman* Historians, which wrote of those Times. His demeanour in all things, were very modest and obliging: meeting him the next day, as I walked upon a Terrass that fronted his House towards the Valley, I could not forbear asking him, and he soon answer'd me, putting a *Book* into my hand, that he was Reading, as if he should say, that 'twas from thence he collected all, that I thought he had invented in his own Brain. I open'd the *Book* very hastily, but my curiosity was not much satisfi'd, when I saw it was nothing but *Cicero*'s Epistles.

As the Reading of those Epistles at the University, made no great impression on my mind, so I was the more surpris'd at what I saw; he began to laugh at my astonishment, and said unto me, that I should not be troubl'd, that it was not me he blam'd but my Tutors, because it was their fault more than mine, if I

had not rellish'd the sweetness of the most pretious remains of Antiquity. That he had often admired in himself, how those Doctors could pretend to know, the nice and finest things in the World, when they did not understand them, : and that I should be no less surpris'd, if I would but Read over those Letters with him, that had been so irksom to me heretofore. You may well believe, I took him at his word. Having therefore open'd the first *Book* of those to *Atticus*, he Read out two or three of them, which treated of the same Matter, and as I intimated to him, the great desire I had to heare him on this Subject, he delay'd satisfying me no longer, but till such time, as we both'd into the Closet, where he so pleasantly entertain'd me, the Day before.

What delights me most of all, *said he*, of the practise of the Antients, is the regularity of their Friendship, it is the only thing wherein they most of all Excel us, and wherein we least strive to equal them. On the contra-

ry. If should any one at this time practise this regularity, he would be esteem'd Ridiculous: the best of his friends would admire him, for the infinite advantages of being be-lov'd after this manner, while o-thers would impudently deride it. But all in general would look upon him as a friendly *Tyrant*, if he exacted they should be as regular towards him, as he is punctual to them.

It was not so that Men liv'd in Greece in the days of *Zenophon*: this Regularity so little practis'd amongst us, was then look't upon as an indispensable Duty. All aspir'd unto it, as to a quality absolutely necessary for every body to have: they boasted of it, as of the most shining Vertues. *They Dyed*, said this Illustrious *Athenian*, making the Elogy of the Greek Captains, his companions, that had been perfidiously Massacred by the Treacherous *Persians*. *They dyed, having divided without reproach, either in War or Friendship.* Who in our times, dare use the like commendations, in the Funeral Solemnities of our Generals? There

Zen. *Ret. of* 10. m. *l.* 2.

There seems to be as much Heat and Vigour in Friendship now a days, as there was formerly, but there is not so much Tenderness. It has produc'd in our dayes, Actions of as great Fidelity, Liberality, and Courage as ever; but I question, if there can be found, so many instances of Gentleness and Patience, so frequently seen amongst the Antients, for the sorrows, and even the unjust reproaches of their Friends? for the modest complacency, which they shew'd for the boundless Passions, of them whom they lov'd, and to conclude, the same punctuality, the same regard, and the same concernedness, for all that regards our Friends, as we would, that they should have for Us.

It may be, *reply'd I*, it is not because we Love less than they did formerly, but only we have less Knowledg and Judgment. You need only, said *Cæsarion*, but compare the Lovers of our times, with the Friends, to discern the Invalidness of your Answer. Lovers, do they not daily do

do for their Mistresses, that which true Friendship should do for his Friend? Have they not for them all the Care, Dilligence, and Respect that can be desir'd? A Soul truly touch'd with a lively Simpathy, never wants Motives to follow its Inclinations; there is common Effects of this seen in vulgar Persons. They seem to be inspir'd with some new Genius, when they begin to be in Love, they appear Witty beyond their Natural Endowments, especially in what regards their Passion. What Love Operates in mean Souls, not Friendship do much more, in Persons of a Nobler make, if it be Sincere? If it do's not at all times discharge its Function, may it not well be concluded that 'tis not Sincere, and that 'tis kept up in the occasions wherein it Opperates, by some other Motive, to which it only lends it's Name.

But now 'tis high time to tell you, wherefore I took occasion to make those reflections; *Atticus* having been Arbitrat in a certain Business, of a Friend

Friend both of his and *Cicero*'s, of this Friend was not very well pleas'd with the Judgment made by *Atticus*, in the matter. And by what follows, it seems he had no great cause to be satisfy'd. For *Atticus* going into *Greece* a little after, he wrote to *Cicero* upon this Subject in these Terms, as soon as he was arriv'd at *Athens*. *If any body be displeas'd with me, it is your part to appease them. It was needless*, answer'd Cicero, *that you should bid me do it, for I endeavour'd it before; this party is very much offended at you, I omitted nothing that could be said on this subject, but I did not think it convenient to press him any farther, until I knew your mind, whether you desire it or not?*

Quod scribis, etiam si cujus animus in te esset offensior, a me recolligi oportere. Quid dicas? Neque id neglexi. Sed est miro quodam modo affectus. Ego autem quæ dicenda fuerunt, de te non præterii. Quid autem contendendum esset, ex tua putabam voluntate statuere oportere. Ad Atticum. l. 1. Ep. 5.

You

You will grant that any body else besides *Cicero*, would not have stay'd for a new Order, and would have thought themselves sufficiently impowr'd, by what *Atticus* had writ, to deale with their common Friend, perhaps more than *Atticus* would have desir'd. This daily fall's out, because most Men rather aspire after Commendation, than to serve those well that do Employ them, in concerning themselves only so far as they have a mind; nothing is more dangerous, than to seek this kind of of Servise of ones Friend, for most do more than they are desir'd, and which is worst of all, one dares not complain, for fear of being blam'd by the World, because of their pretended good meaning, which in my Judgment, is the most frivolous excuse in the World. For every body easily perceives, when they pass the bounds of their commission, And one questions in passing it, if what we doe, will be well resented or not? and in this respect, it is a kind of perfidiousness to do. Because one

runs

runs a Risque of disobliging a Friend, in seeming to goe about to serve him.

Quam si ad me per scripseris intelliges, me neque diligentiorem esse, voluisse quam tu esses neque negligentiorem fore quam tu velis. Ille noster amicus sane tibi iratus est. Hoc si quanti tu estimes, sciam tum quid mihi elaborandum sit scire possim. 7.

Cicero was too brave a Person, to fall into such an Error. *If you write unto me*, continues he, *how far I shall proceed you, shall find, that I will not be more hasty in accommodating you than you desire, nor more backward than you would have me be.* And in another Letter writ a little after, not having received answer unto the former. *Our Friend*, saith he, *again, is very angry with with you; if you let me know how much you care for it, I can tell what menaces to use to appease him.*

He knew very well, that how specious soever the pretext of Reconciling Friends is, yet he ought not to pass the intention of him, that Engadg'd him in the business, and desir'd the accomodation, on such and such Terms, but not on any Terms whatsoever. He had not the Ambition so common amongst us, to pretend to impose upon his Friends, in what they lik'd or dik'd not, but rested satisfi'd to reconcile them. Most Men doe now a dayes

dayes advance themselves into *Pedagogues*, and affect a higher degree of Wisdom and Knowledg, which is the greatest Bane of true Friendship.

How many be there, that Act in a Business according to the mind of him that Employ them, when nevertheless, they think they ought to Act quite contrary? It were somthing, if in this Consideration they would desire wholly to be excus'd, but ther's very few, that Act with such freedom. On the contrary, either to be thought not to forsake their Friends in their necessity, or that they fear the business being done by others, it may have success contrary to their advice, the most part continue to interpose, even when they are not desir'd, and pretending to govern themselvs as they were intrusted, which yet they approve not off, they endeavour what they can under hand, to let the business fall, thereby the better to Justify their own Sentiments. And if it be discover'd that they have Acted contrary to directions, and to what they promis'd, they never want

want Reasons to shew, that one should approve of their Conduct; but this is not much to the purpose: Or if they do not the quite contrary, of what they were desir'd, they satisfy themselves barely, with acting only so far, as that it might be said, that they employ'd themselves in the business, and however they acted, they think themselves discharg'd in saying, that one can never mind ev'ry thing, or that they thought they did all for the better.

True Friendship is never reduced to such a *non-plus*, it is a continual Spring of Industry, it can do nothing by halves, and it holds that for ill done, which might be better done, but more especially it appears admirable in business, wherein Honour and Interest are concerned, not to explain it any farther. Nothing is easier, then to make him pass by what one has no Mind to discover, and although one expose not themselves by declaring ones Mind, he is not at all displeas'd at it, and he acts with

no less Diligence, than if one had fully and freely committed ones self to his discretion. Besides, he is not satisfy'd with himself, no farther than he satisfy's those for whom he acts: he cannot admit of any other Interest in what he do's, but that of his Friend; he neglects himself the better and more perfectly to understand his Friends Design and Passion. Therefore it falls out, that many times he knows better than they, what they would, and what they would not have done, he unriddles their opposite thoughts wherewith they are most agitated, and discerns sometimes better than they do, what they most desire, and what at last shall be most predominant.

False Friendship, on the contrary, is always dissatisfied with the manner that 'tis employ'd; it is always self-conceited; it never fails of making some private Interest in the business wherein it is employ'd, how little soever it regards him; it has always some private End, that it dares not own; It holds with the

Letter when it ſhould with the Sence, and commonly ſeeks ſome contrary meaning, when 'tis neceſſary to keep to the Literal Senſe. Beſides it has ever either ill Read or ill Heard, and things are never plainly enough expreſt.

One cannot, *ſaid I*, ramble more pleaſantly than you do, for we have almoſt loſt ſight of *Atticus*; and to ſay the truth, I would willingly hear farther of him. *Cicero*, repy'd *Caſarion*, receiv'd Letters from him, ſoon after the Letter I formerly mention'd, and he reply'd to him in theſe Terms. *I promiſe you to pacifie our Friend, and it may be ingage him alſo, to be wholly yours. I endeavour'd it before of my own accord, but now I perceive by your Letter, that you earneſtly deſire it, I will employ my ſelf more diligently therein, and will preſs him more earneſtly than I did. You need not doubt but he is highly diſpleas'd with you, but as I know that he has no great reaſon for it, I dare undertake to pacifie and to diſpoſe him as I liſt.*

Tibi de noſtro amico placando, aut etiam

etiam plane reſtituendo polliceor. Quod ego, etſi mea ſponte ante faciebam, eo nunc tamen, & agam ſtudioſius, & contendam ab illo vehementius, quod tamen ex Epiſtola voluntatem ejus rei tuam perſpicere videor. Hoc te intelligere volo, pergraviter illum eſſe offenſum. Sed quia nullam video gravem ſubeſſe cauſam, magnopere confido illum fore in officio, & in noſtra poteſtate. *l.* 1. *Ep.* 1. *ad* Atticum.

You may ſee what were *Cicero*'s hopes, but he was miſtaken, and you need not be ſurpris'd at it, for ther's no body but may be miſtaken, if they do not fully know the ground and bottom of a Buſineſs, and one is only bound to judge aright of what one is inform'd; *after having us'd all endeavours*, ſay's he *to* Atticus, *very far from ſetling you in his thoughts as you had been before, I could not ſo much as gather from him, the cauſe of his Strangeneſs. For whatſoever he ſay's of your Arbitration, and of the other things, I knew before wherewith he was diſſatisfi'd at your departure, there is ſomething elſe he*

stick out more than all that; the which neither your Letters, nor my Mediation cannot reconcile, as well as you may do your self at your return hither, not only by Conversation, but also by your Obliging wayes, that is, if you think it worth your while. And do not think strange, that I dare not promise any Kindness from him, having intimated to you in my last, that I us'd all my endeavours. You cannot believe, how much stranger he appears to me than formerly, and persists more in his Obstinacy.

Cum omnia fecissem, non modo eam voluntatem ejus, quæ fuerat erga te, recuperare non potui, verum ne causam quidem elicere immutatæ voluntatis. Tametsi jactat ille quidem illud suum arbitrium, & ea quæ jam tum cum aderas offendere ejus animum intelligebam. Tamen habet quiddam profecto quod magis in animo ejus insederit, quod neque Epistolæ tuæ, neque nostra Allegatio tam potest facile delere, quam tu præsens, non modo oratione, sed illo tuo vultu familiari, tolles, si modo tan-

tanti putabis, id quod si me audies, & si humanitati tuæ constare voles certe putabis. Ac ne illud mirere cum ego antea significarem tibi per literas, me sperare eum in nostra potestate fore, nunc idem videar diffidere. Incredibile est, quantum mihi videatur illius voluntas obstinatior, & in hac iracundia obfirmatior.10.

You see by this, that *Cicero*'s moderation was very discreet, and you perceive that his Friend being irreconcileable, *Atticus* it may be would not have gone any farther to have pacifi'd him, and therefore would have had just cause to blame *Cicero*, had *Cicero* done it without his expres Order.

But wherefore would not this Man, *reply'd I*, at these words, declare his greatest Cause of displeasure against *Atticus*? You must not, answer'd *Cesarion*, wonder at that; the most Sincere and the most Sensible are they which say least; because they are Clear, Constant, and Free from making feigned or frivolous

Excuſes. Now to what purpoſe is it to diſcover a thing, where there is not a Salve or Remedy for it.

Moreover the greatneſs of an injury is never well known, but by him that gave it, and by him that receiv'd it, foraſmuch as it depends on the Circumſtance, wherein the party offended was, when he receiv'd it; to know to what degree he was concern'd, and how far the Offender knew his Senſibility. And from hence it happens, that the moſt cruel Injuries be thoſe, that ſometimes ſeem the leaſt, to thoſe that have not receiv'd them.

Beſides, there be things that cannot be fully explain'd without Publiſhing others, which it were better to hide and conceal. Therefore, thoſe, which have committed ſuch Extravagancies, do ſo often dare thoſe to Publiſh them, to whom they have done them, knowing very well the Parties offended will rather endeavour to Conceal them if they be Wiſe, but if they be ſo imprudent to diſcover themſelves, they are ſoon

pu-

puniſh'd by their own Folly, by gratifying others, in declaring what they have ſuffer'd; this pleaſure is ſo great and pleaſing to corrupt Minds, that inſtead of being aſham'd to publiſh their wickedneſs, they glory in it, and do manifeſt, that this very declaring of it is the accompliſhing the Triumph of their Spleen and Malice.

Nevertheleſs, *anſwer'd I*, ther's nothing more generally blam'd, than this unwillingneſs, of owning the diſpleaſure, one harbours againſt our Enemy. You ſee however, *reply'd Caſarion*, that at certain times, ther's nothing more juſt and prudent, than this kind of Obſtinateneſs.

What *Cicero* adds afterwards, *continues he*, will more ſurpriſe you. *But*, concludes he, *either you will compoſe theſe matters when you arrive here, or which ever of you both are in the wrong, it will fare the worſe with him.*

Sed hæc aut ſanabuntur cum veneris, aut ei noleſta erunt, in utro culpa erit. ibid.

This Diſcourſe which ſeems ſo unreaſonable, was the very Truth it ſelf. The Reputation of *Atticus*'s

Wisdom and Probity was so well setled, that no body in *Rome* would scarce have question'd it, although his proceedings, at all times, were not the fairest.

He was one of those kind of *Sparks*, that was neither Eminent by Birth, nor by Office, nor by any extraordinary Parts, but made himself be talkt of by an affected way of Living, and of being admitted into Great mens company, who, for the most part, are not the hardest to be deceiv'd. For which purpose, it is enough to have store of Wealth, and a great deal of Wit; to be born with a temper incapable of violent Passions, neither good nor bad, and with a great stock of indifferency for Truth and Justice, that can see these divine Vertues violated, and be able to violate them, when 'tis for ones Interest. It is requisit, to be naturally neither a Deceiver nor Unjust, that one should, in most occasions, practise these Vertues in shew and seemingly, because in a great measure it is more useful, to be Just and Sin-

Sincere, than to be otherwiſe. Alſo it is requiſit, to appear a Friend equally alike to all ſorts of perſons, and not to be ſo truly to any body. Not much to frequent ones Equals, and neither to deſpiſe them. With theſe qualities, it is an eaſie matter to inſinuate into great Mens company, eſpecially if ones behaviour be not Offenſive.

If ſuch a perſon as this will alſo force himſelf to flatter great Perſons in their follies, wherewith they are moſt pleas'd, praiſe them for qualities which they really have, and for which every body blames them, and for thoſe they think they have, and that every body knows they have not, how do they delight in ſuch a Perſon, and how do they cry him up? But eſpecially, if he holds in favour with thoſe, that are at enmity amongſt themſelves, then he becomes alike uſeful to both party's, they both vie in his commendation, and others, ſeeing Perſons ſo divided, agree in admiring him; it's preſently beleiv'd, it can only be pure Merit

rit, that can ſo unite them, and ſo conceive a good opinion of him, which, diffuſing abroad, do's inſenſibly create this ſhadow of Reputation, wherewith thoſe are deluded, that do really want it themſelves.

Si liberius, ut conſueſti, agendum putatis. ep. 12. l. 5. ad fam.

Such a kind of Perſon was *Atticus*, but his *Antagoniſt* was a Man of another Temper, and of a make altogether as Solid and Sincere, as that of *Atticus* was Forc'd and Artificial. He was call'd *Lucius Lucceius*, and was of a very good Family. He wrote the Hiſtory of his times, with much Honour and Eloquence, as may be judg'd by *Cicero*'s deſiring him to write that of his *Conſulſhip* apart, *and with that Freedom and Sincerity, which was ſo Natural to him.* The ſame *Cicero* in a publick Act applauds *The integrity of his life, his virtue, goodneſs, and learning, with a greatneſs*, that cannot be the leaſt queſtion'd; eſpecially conſidering, that writing to *Atticus* himſelf about their difference, he cannot forbear to call the ſame *Lucceius, a very honeſt Man, and his very good Friend.* He was af-

Sanctiſſimi hominis atque integerrimi illa humanitate illis ſtudiis, artibus, doctrina.

Pro Cælio.

Mehercule vir optimus & mihi amiciſſimus. ad Att. *l.* 1. Ep. 17.

afterwards Competitor with *Cæsar* and *Bibulus* for the *Consulship*, and was refus'd it for no other reason, but for Corresponding with *Cæsar* against *Bibulus*. For this Familiarity made him be suspected by the *great Men*, which were call'd the *Honest Party*, and declar'd Enemies to *Cæsar*: But as they could not exclude this great Man, and that 'twas of great Moment to the Common-Wealth, that he should not have the *Colleague* he desir'd, they us'd such extraordinary means to frustrate *Lucceius*, that at last they effected their desires, and and chose *Bibulus* in his stead.

Sueto. c. 19. ad Att. l. 4. Ep. 16. *Optimates, viri boni* ad Att. *passim*.

It appears that failing in this design, he quitted all farther pretensions, doubting the success, by reason of his many great and powerful Enemies, and in all likelihood, the very great sincerity of Life, that he profes's'd and practis'd, made him give over the Correspondence he had maintain'd with *Cæsar*, for which reason he imploy'd him not in the Civil Wars, as he did all his other friends, and kept himself all that time in the

the Country, or privately in *Rome* at his Study, or other Domestick Affairs.

But if you desire to know him more particularly, than by what I have already said, you may be pleas'd to read a Letter which he wrote to *Cicero*, upon the death of his dear Daughter *Tullia*. Methinks it shews so much tenderness, wisdom and discretion, that I was much pleas'd in Translating it. At these words *Cæsarion* opening a little Manuscript full of Translations made by him, which I since copy'd out; I there read this which follows.

LUCCEIUS his Letter to CICERO.

"IF you are in Health, I am glad "of it; for my part I am much "after one rate, or rather some- "thing worse than I use to be. I "went to visit you, but was surpris'd "to hear you were gone out of *Rome* "as soon as you had left me, and "am still so, not imagining what "should oblige you thereto. If you "are best pleas'd with privacy and "retirement to write and study "after your usual manner, I rejoyce "at it, and am very far from bla- "ming you; for one can neither be "better employ'd in these sad times "wherein we live, nor in more flou- "rishing and happy days, especial- "ly such a rare Genius as yours, "which seeks a little respite from "the trouble of your great Imploy- "ments, and that always produceth "something delightful unto others, "and glorious for your self. But if

"it

"it be wholy to give your ſelf up
"to grief, as you did here, that
"you are retir'd, then am I ſenſibly
"concern'd for you, becauſe you ſuf-
"fer. But if you ſuffer me to ſpeak
"my mind, I cannot approve your
"conduct. For can it be, that you,
"whoſe judgement penetrates the
"moſt hidden things, don't perceive
"that your continual ſorrowing do's
"you no good at all, and that you
"only increaſe your affliction,
"which your diſcretion ſhould ra-
"ther mitigate. But if I cannot
"prevail with you by my perſwaſi-
"ons, I beg it of you in kindneſs,
"and by all the reſpect you have
"for me. I conjure you to give off
"this doleful kind of living, and re-
"turn to the enjoyment of your
"friends; or if you deſire to live ſo-
"litary, in living at leaſt with your
"ſelf, as you were wont to do before
"your misfortune, do ſo. If you
"are diſpleas'd with me for my
"good will, I am ſorry to have
"troubled you, yet I would fain
"divert you from the courſe you

"take

" take. Being moved with these two " contrary passions, I hope you will " either grant what I desire, if you " can, or that you will pardon my " importunity if you cannot. *Fare-* " *wel.*

LUCCEIUS CICERONI.

SI vales bene est, ego valeo sicut soleo, paululo tamen etiam deterius quam soleo. Te requisivi sæpius ut viderem. Romæ, quia postea non fuisti quam a me discesseras, miratus sum; quod item nunc miror. Non habeo certum quæ te res hinc maxime retrahat. Si solitudine delectere cum scribas, & aliquid agas eorum, quorum consuesti, gaudeo, neque reprehendo consilium tuum. Nam nihil isto potest esse jucundius, non modo miseris his temporibus & luctuosis, sed etiam tranquillis & optatis: præsertim, vel animo defatigato tuo, qui nunc requietem quærat ex magnis occupationibus, vel erudito, qui semper aliquid ex se promat quod alios delectet, teipsum laudibus illustret. Sin

autem

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autem

autem sicut hic dum eras, & lacrymis & tristitiæ te tradidisti, doleo, quia doles & angere: nec possum te (si concedis quod sentimus ut liberius dicamus) non accusare. Quid enim? tu solus aperta non videbis, qui propter acumen occultissima perspicis? Tu non intelliges, te querelis quotidianis nihil proficere? non intelliges duplicari sollicitudines, quas elevare tua te prudentia postulat. Quod si non possumus aliquid proficere suadendo, gratia contendimus; & rogando, si quid nostra causa vis, ut istis te molestiis laxes, & ad convictum nostrum redeas, & ad consuetudinem, vel nostram communem, vel tuam solius, ac propriam. Cupio non obtundere te si non delectere nostro studio: cupio deterrere ne permaneas in incæpto. Quum duæ res istæ contrariæ me conturbent, ex quibus, aut in altera mihi velim, si potes, obtemperes, aut in altera non offendas, Vale. L. 5. Ad famil. Ep. 14.

See here, *said I*, (having done reading) a very obliging advice, and I cannot tell how a person of such singular merit could be refus'd, being

being in the right. Yet there's nothing more frequently ſeen, reply'd *Ceſarion*. The greateſt merits were not moſt eſteem'd in corrupt ages, as was the laſt of that of the *Roman* Commonwealth. There ſhin'd ſo many virtues amongſt that glorious people for the ſpace of ſix hundred years, that it could not be but ſome footſteps of them remained in the age we ſpeak of. But in like manner, as craft and vice, which neceſſarily attend the greatneſs of Worldly Empire, had attained unto their higheſt pitch: Art had in moſt things ſubverted Nature, and the little, but pretious remainder, of ancient ſimplicity and integrity of former ages, being mixt with much deceit and ſeeming virtue, became ſo much the more odious, as that it put on the reſemblance of truth it ſelf.

In all ages Truth has been called a *Chimera* by thoſe that are not able to underſtand it, and thoſe which do comprehend it, not puting it in practiſe, through malice, ſpeak

slightly of it, and give it the worst character they can. It were well if it were quit for not pleasing them; but as they cannot but admire it in their soul, they continue not in an indifferency, but go on to hate it, because naturally men hate what they Esteem very much, but cannot Love.

How is't possible, say they, to live with persons that never will be reconcil'd with those they have once differ'd, that forgive not their friends, that have no regard for their counsels, nor for their intreaties; that expect such care and observance, that good Masters would not require from their Slaves; that do not regard their own concerns, and that will not suffer their friends to take the care which they ought to take their ownselves?

Cicero might have said all this against *Lucceius* upon his obstinacy in not agreeing with *Atticus*, but he knew very well, that 'tis only those which easily differ, that are so reconciled again. That offences which deserve

deſerve but little notice to be taken of them, being received from indifferent perſons, are mortal injuries when they proceed from a perſon that one loves, or of thoſe by whom we think we deſerve to be loved; no body is a better judge of advice, than him to whom it is given; that there are requeſts which be injurious as well as juſt: That one may expect from their friends, the ſame care and kindneſs as one hath for them. And to conclude, it is for the moſt part a kind of reproof, rather than ſign of friendſhip, to concern one ſelf in others affairs, whether they will or not.

Theſe are the Rules whereby *Cicero* governed himſelf with his friends. But there were but very few that were ſo virtuous as he was: as the friendſhip of *Atticus* was artificial, crafty, and ſuted, and adapted to the Commerce of the World; ſo that of *Lucceius* was pure and ſincere, and altogether unfit for the World. It is not ſtrange therefore, that *Atticus* his humour was more

taking, and oftentimes procur'd him an applauſe that he did not really deſerve.

For the World do's uſually judge of affairs by the perſons, inſtead of judging by the things themſelves, for it requires ſome pains to examine a buſineſs, and 'tis a trouble which men do not willingly undergo; whereas there's no pains in judging of affairs thereafter as one is affected more or leſs with the perſon it concerns. Moreover when once one is ſetled in a fancy, one naturally ſhuns knowing what might change our opinion, becauſe men don't care to know that they have been deceived.

There is therefore no cauſe to wonder why *Cicero* ſaid, *That whoever it was that was in the right, either* Atticus *or* Lucceius, *their conteſt would only prove prejudicial to* Lucceius *in the Worlds eſteem.* Although *Cicero* wrote ſo plainly to *Atticus* himſelf, in ſuppoſing he might be in the wrong; to *Atticus* I ſay, who always boaſted to be in the right. I make

make no doubt, but knowing him as I do, this ſuppoſition toucht him to the quick, though perhaps he was glad at the heart that *Cicero* own'd, as he did by this Diſcourſe, that his reputation was ſetled to ſuch a degree, that it might be ſupported, even without reaſon, againſt a man of that worth *Lucceius* was of; and in all likelihood it was to give him this ſecret pleaſure, that *Cicero*, who underſtood him very well, wrote to him after this manner.

Yet I have one requeſt more to make to you, reply'd I, ſeeing *Caſarion* ſilent. It is to know if this grudge laſted always, it is not known, ſaid he, how they were reconciled. But it appears by *Cicero*'s Letters, that they viſited each other familiarly twelve years after. That's a thing often ſeen when one has to do with a man of *Atticus* his temper. How much ſoever one is perſwaded of their perfidiouſneſs, they'l make themſelves no ſtrangers, and wanting no excuſes of one ſort or other, they employ ſo many

friends to compoſe matters, that at laſt one is forc't to comply: for commonly perſons are more inclinable to the Offendor, than to the Offended; the malignity of nature, being delighted at the ſeeing and ſuffering of ill, never fails, in theſe Occaſions, to incline to him that gave the offence, to the prejudice of him that received it, under the ſpecious pretence of making Peace.

Nevertheleſs I cannot tell but the open Enmity of *Atticus* had been leſs hurtful to *Lucceius* than their reconciliation: for *Atticus* never acted but through reſpect of his own private intereſt, and would never have been ſo deſirous of reconciliation, had he not believ'd that *Lucceius* his Enmity would have been to his diſadvantage; not but that his alſo might have been hurtful to *Lucceius*; but there was this difference to be made, that their accommodation did abſolutely remove the diſadvantage which *Atticus* might receive by this Enmity, becauſe *Lucceius* could not be reconcil'd but with

a truly

a truly good intent, whereas there was great cauſe to think that *Atticus* would not be any truer to him after reconciliation, than he was before their rupture, eſpecially being netl'd by the long refuſal *Lucceius* made of being accommodated, and by the ſecret reproaches of his own Conſcience, wherewith the moſt vitious perſons (do they what they can to ſuppreſs them) are as often tormented, as the moſt ignorant ſort of men.

By what I had ever heard of *Atticus* formerly, the deſcription *Celarion* now gave me of him, could not chooſe but ſurpriſe me. I had always heard him repreſented as the true model of an honeſt man; having read his Life in Latine, French and Engliſh, I was fully confirm'd in this opinion, and I freely confeſs, I fear'd there might be ſome affectation of ſingularity in your friends ſentiment; he judg'd of my thoughts by my countenance, and having freely own'd it to him, he continu'd his Diſcourſe as follows.

It is very true, *said he*, moſt intelligent Perſons, and that are beſt skill'd in theſe matters, are of a very different judgement from me touching the man we ſpeak of, and do not wonder at it. He deceiv'd wiſer than they, and thoſe that had opportunity of knowing him better. I ſpeak of the learned age wherein he liv'd, wherein I told you already, that his Reputation was as great as I believe it was undeſerved. You muſt not imagine that he was the only perſon of this kind: I'le inſtance in others both Ancient and Modern when you pleaſe, and 'tis very probable his Hiſtorian took the voice of the People for it, which is not always the voice of God. But his error is no authority, and the character of his *Hero* is of that importance to be clear'd up, that it deſerves to be examin'd a little narrower than he has done it.

You may gueſs how eaſily Fame is acquir'd by having great Riches, when one knows ever ſo little how to uſe them; to judge aright of a man

man he ſhould be conſider'd by the qualities which are leaſt ſeen; and there is no degree of Reputation but may be attain'd without virtue; by riches, wit and a great deal of vanity; there can nothing more neceſſary be taught Gentlemen of your age, than to diſtinguiſh counterfeit vertues from real, and not to be deceived by common report in the merit of particular perſons. You cannot imagine the trouble one has all their life, for admiring perſons in their youth, which deſerve not to be admired. And when I ſpeak of merit, pray obſerve, that I thereby mean true integrity and honeſty, without which I know not any, and it is that merit which I deny to *Atticus*, for (this excepted) it was hard to have more wit and prudence than he had, or to underſtand the Times, Men and Buſineſs better than he did.

If what you ſay be true, *reply'd I* to this Diſcourſe, his Hiſtorian is the greateſt flatterer that ever was. Say rather that he was his Panegy-

riſt

rift, said *Cæsarion*; *Nepos* is in most things a down right Lyar, and appears to be but of a mean capacity, as may be judg'd by what we have remaining of his; he took for currant all that his *Hero* said to make himself be cry'd up, and relates, as undoubted truth, all that he had heard spoken in favour of *Atticus*, by *Atticus* himself.

One cannot be justly more suspected than *Nepos* is: he boasts to have lived so familiarly with this Gallant, that he was privy to his Journal of Expences; he interven'd in his actions, and at his request regist'r'd some of them. It do's not appear that this Historian made any great Figure in the World, as most of his time did; so that there's just cause to suspect, that *Atticus* his friendship being the highest of his preferment, his own private interest moved him to advance the glory of *Atticus* to the highest pitch he could. But you shall find afterwards that he was so unfortunate or indiscreet, that the most glorious actions related by him,

are

are either convinc'd of falſhood by other Writers, of greater credit than him, or related in ſuch a manner by himſelf, that unawares he deſtroyes all their Merit in diſcourſing of their true Original.

You promiſe me things that are very curious, *reply'd I to Cæſarion*; I very much queſtion if any beſides your ſelf could perform your promiſe, and you will do me a ſingular pleaſure if you diſcharge it faithfully. There's no need of being a very able man, reply'd he, to ſatisfie you therein, and I'le not defer your deſire any longer.

To render the Oeconomy and Liberality of *Atticus* the more admirable, and to ſhew that he had not increas'd his wealth but by honeſt ways; *Nepos* boldly affirms, that he was never concern'd in buſineſs, neither directly nor indirectly, as other Knights of *Rome* uſually were. Nevertheleſs the quite contrary appears by *Cicero*'s Letters, which *Nepos* himſelf teſtifies to have ſeen; in which this Orator calls *Atticus* Publican

Nullius rei neque præs, neque manceps. Tu aliquid publicanus pendis. l. 2. ep. 15.

lican in expreſs terms, and gives him an account of a Decree of the *Senate* againſt the Creditors of the Free People, wherein *Atticus* himſelf was concern'd, becauſe he had advanc'd great Sums of mony for thoſe of *Sicionia*, which were of that quality.

And it would be very ſtrange to conceive, how he ſhould acquire ſuch extraordinary great Riches, diſtributing ſo Liberally, and living ſo Honourably as he did, having never born any Office nor Command, if he had not gained Wealth ſome other way; and there's no doubt but it was the cauſe that made a learn'd *French Critick*, in ſome obſcure words which he wrote to *Cicero*, diſcover, that he held a Bank at *Rome* in his own Houſe, under the Name of *Oppius*'s, which were at his Devotion, and made publick profeſſion of it. But I excuſe *Nepos* for being ignorant of the thing, for by the dark Enigmatical manner that *Atticus* mentions it to *Cicero*, it may eaſily be ſeen that he conceal'd it with extra-

extraordinary care, and made not his Hiſtorian privy to it.

In another place to exaggerate the great eſteem every body had for him; the ſame Hiſtorian poſitively affirms, that *Pompey* had no ill will for him, for ſtaying in *Italy* during the Civil Wars, without joyning to any ſide, although he was bound in ſtrict bands of Amity to this great Man. Nevertheleſs the ſame *Cicero*, who muſt needs know things better than *Nepos*, ſeeing he was at that time with *Pompey* in *Theſſaly*, writes in expreſs terms to *Atticus* after the Death of this General, that he eſteem'd them equally his Enemies, that had not follow'd and ſided with him, I ſay you as well as others, *ſays Cicero, for it was determin'd, to have us'd you Cruelly, if we had return'd to* Rome.

Conſtitutum omnium veſtrum bonа prædam eſſe illius victoriæ. Veſtrum plane dico, nunquam enim de te ipſo niſi crudeliſſime cogitatum eſt. ep. 6. l. 11.

I would inſtance in ſundry other places, wherein *Nepos* has not been more faithful, than in theſe two now mention'd, but as that would be too tedious, ſo I'le content my ſelf to inſtance one more, after which, you will

will the eafier credit the reſt, it is where he affirms, that *Atticus had a perfect kindneſs for Cicero in all his troubles.* You ſhall heare what *Cicero* himſelf ſaith, and I cannot ſufficiently admire the impudence of this Writer, to dare affirm a thing ſo boldly, in a Work wherein he ſpeaks in the praiſe of Letters written by *Cicero* himſelf to his *Hero*, whereas the very ſame Letters avouch the quite contrary, and are full of reproofs and juſt and vehement complaints, which *Cicero* makes of *Atticus*, to *Atticus* himſelf.

Ciceroni in omnibus ejus periculis ſingularem fidem præbuit.

L 3. ep. 15. 24. &c.

I am not any longer ſurpris'd at *Nepos*'s Errours, *ſaid I* to *Cæſarion*, by what you have related to me of him. But I much admire at *Atticus*, by what you have now ſaid, and I could never have thought, but that ſo great a Friendſhip, as that betwixt him and *Cicero*, ſhould have been maintain'd on both parts with all the fidelity imaginable, you won't ſo much wonder at it, *reply'd Cæſarion*, if you conſider what follow's, with a little more heed than you

you have hitherto done. You will not find in him any Symptom of true goodness, and it cannot be said it was the commerce of the World that depravd him, because in this respect he was the same in his Youth as he was in his riper Years.

His Father dyed when he was very Young, and left him Wealth more than enough to serve him as long as he livd. For his Quality, he was but of the Equestrian Order, that is to say, a good Alderman or Citizen. In his Youth when the most timorous have some courage, he quited *Italy*, and retirèd to *Athens* under a pretence of studying, but in effect, it was because a Seditious *Tribune* had been executed at *Rome*, whose Brother had Marryd *Atticus* his Cousin-german, this was, as you may perceive, to see a storm far off, and one could not have desirèd more favourable circumstances of becoming a perfect Epicure than these were, as he verifi'd afterwards. I don't design to censure this Sect, I perfectly know it's sentiments as well as you.

Anicia Pomponii consobrina nupserat M. Servio fratri P. Sulpitii qui tribunus plebis interfectus est.

Ne-

Nevertheleſs I cannot but ſay, that 'tis a ſtrange kind of Wiſdom, to ſee ones Country on the point of utter ruin, without concerning ones ſelf one way or other, although one has Extraordinary means and opportunities of ſerving it; and to ſuffer all things to be turn'd upſide-downe, rather than to be expos'd to the leaſt danger. I make no doubt, but you have heard of the Law of *Solon*, that declar'd thoſe Infamous, which took not ſome ſide or other in a publick Inſurrection. But this Subject would ingage us too far; you may only obſerve, that this kind of temper of profound indifferency, not to ſay inſenſibleneſs, which *Atticus* had all his life, for all things which did not directly concern himſelf, was the true cauſe of his continual proſperity; and it was this proſperity that made him cheifly to be admir'd. But it is an eaſie matter to be happy when one is left rich, enjoys wit and health, and cares for no body.

Do you call that, *reply'd I*, caring for no body, to ſupport ones Friends, when

when they are forsaken by all the World, with money and all necessaries in their need, without expecting any return or recompence: Yes *answer'd Cæsarion* unconcernedly, I call this proceeding, vanity, ostentation, policy, in fine, any thing rather than true Liberality, when it is so dissembled, artificial, and self-ended, as was that of *Arius*, when it has only vain glory for it's scope, and do's not appear as well in private as on publick occasions.

He sent money to young *Marius* his schoolfellow, when he fled proscrib'd by *Sylla*; it was the greatest name of *Rome*, and it was hard to judge at that time, if he would not become more powerful than ever he was before, according to what had lately hapn'd his Father. He lent to the *Athenians* considerable sums of Money without Interest, to pay their City Debts, and *Nepos* commends him, *for requiring it to be paid punctually at the prefix'd time*; so great an itch had he to praise him on any score. He could not better have bestow'd his

Neque longius quam dictum esset eos debere passus sit, neque indulgendo inveterascere eorum as alienum patiebatur.

Liberality than upon the most Illustrious City in the World, which he had chose for the place of his retirement, at a time when he thought it not oversafe to stay at *Rome*. And all kind of respects were pay'd him in acknowledgement thereof, nothing was done but by his Ministry and Advice; it proceeded so far, that they erected Statues in his Honour, whether he would or no, in the most publick places in the City.

I see nothing, said I, but what was very commendable in this action; the *Athenians* gratitude could not render the thing to be done out of self-interest, and it seems to me to inhance the kindness, rather than to lessen it. If there be no more in't than to say *Atticus* did it through vain glory; then the best and most commendable actions may by the same reason be sensur'd, because every thing may be esteem'd vain glorious when 'tis known, that is, as soon as it comes to be spoken of.

Nevertheless, reply'd *Cæsarion*, he did more generous actions than

these were in appearance, the which however *Cicero* did not very well approve of; and after the manner that he dealt with *Atticus*, it may safely be affirm'd, that he put no great value on these splendid Liberalities, seeing he cannot forbear writing slightly of them unto *Atticus* himself. *But*, saith he in a certain place, *Is it true that you have distributed Corn to the* Athenians, *do you think it well done?*

Sed heus tu Athenis, placet hoc tibi.

This Discourse, if I mistake not, intimates that these actions were at least much suspected in those times, when they could be better judg'd of than now; and *Cicero*'s authority is of far greater weight in this matter than that of *Nepos*. Nevertheless it must be granted, it would be unjust to censure them, did one know no more than what this Historian do's relate; but he reporting others of the same stamp, which are undoubtly false, one may by the same measure the more naturally judge of those that be dubious.

After the death of *Cæsar* it was propos'd amongst the Roman Knights to raise a stock for the maintenance of his Assassinates, in consideration of the pretended service they had done the Commonwealth. One of these Knights who had the chief conduct of the business, thinking he could not better advance it than by ingaging therein one of the chief of his Order, addres'd himself unto *Atticus*, as unto a particular friend of *Brutus*, who was chief of the Murderers. What answer think you *Atticus* made unto this propofal? there was need of maintaining an action, which at that time was esteemed generous by every body, and there appear'd no danger in doing it. *He made the whole design fall to the ground*, (saith *Nepos*) *thinking it not fit to serve his friends by a spirit of faction.* Did you ever see a poorer excuse, nor the word Faction worse apply'd? and that you may the plainer see that he refus'd only out of singularity. Affairs having quite chang'd

Ille consensionis globus hujus unius dissensione dissectus est qui officia amicis præstanda sine factione existimaret, &c.

soon after, and *Brutus* with his companies being fore'd to withdraw, *Antony* left him considerable sums of money of free gift. But who does not see that this supply, how great soever, could not be comparable to that which was design'd to be given him by the greatest part of the wealthyest Citizens, of which he was depriv'd by *Brutus* his refusal? and to conclude, this denial could proceed only from an affectation of being distinguish'd from all others, without any other end or aim, but an envious fear and jealousie of sharing with his equals in the glory of a good action.

It's true, reply'd I, there appears something very strange in this conduct, and that renders it something suspicious, and I cannot but own it. But in requital you must grant in the next place, that there could be nothing more free and generous, than what he did a while after in regard of *Antonius*. One had need be something more than a Prophet, to foresee the *Triumvirat* during the

Seige of *Modena*; *Antonius* declar'd an Enemy by the *Senate*, routed and forc'd to raise the Seige by *Octavius* and the *Consuls*, his whole Army dispers'd and fain himself flying into *Gaul* to the mercy of *Lepidus*, abandon'd by his best Friends, and persecuted by some of them as by his worst Enemies; his Wife and Children expos'd every moment to the greatest Extremitys. In this deplorable condition *Atticus* entertains and supports those of his, that held true to him, supply'd them with all necessaries; accompanies *Fulvia* in all places, intercedes for her, and becomes her caution, lends her mony without interest, to pay Debts which were fallen due, without obliging her to repayment. It seems to me that 'tis not enough to be good and disinterested, to act after this manner, but also it shews resolutenes and great courage.

To answer the exaggeration you have now made, reply'd *Cæsarion*; before we examine this matter to the bottom, let me desire you to

make

make a reflection, which I have taken from a good authority, which perhaps you have never yet thought of. At these words *Cæsarion* musing about what he intended to say, we heard a noise of several Horsemen in the Court, which obliged us to rise and see what it meant.

The End of the Third Day.

CÆSARION.

The Fourth Day.

OUr Converſation was deferr'd for ſome time by company that came to viſit your friend, and though it wrought in me ſome impreſſions not very agreeable unto one of my years, yet I can ſay without vanity, that it was with great ſatisfaction I return'd unto it. Beſides the extraordinary deſire and has naturally to improve ones ſelf in knowledge, having never met a man that condeſcended more to humour my weak apprehenſion; our diſcourſe had alſo in it the pleaſure of Novelty, and I was ſenſibly taken in that part that was moſt grateful to me. I fancy'd therefore to be return'd to the light after a long darkneſs, the

firſt

first time we met together alone, and the delight I conceived might have been discern'd in my looks by any body else, as well as by him. It was, I shall never forget it, the very afternoon of the same day that our Company went away, we walked in the same Gallery talking together, which I told you fac'd his Closet; and as he could not but wonder at the pleasure I took in his discourse, not knowing otherwise how to divert the commendations he gave me on that account, and which was burdensome to me; I bethought my self of asking him the meaning of the first Picture that offer'd it self to my view, amongst several others that were in the same place.

It represented a Man with a Face as great as it was ill favour'd, very ill accounter'd after the Greek habit, leaning with one Hand upon his Staff, and stretching out the other half open, unto a Statue richly adorn'd. Near this man lay an empty Vessel, part of the Head being out, the

bottom

bottom of the Cask might be seen: without much difficulty, by this equipage I knew it was the Philosopher *Diogenes*, but the posture wherein he was represented appearing something strange, I desir'd to know of *Cæsarion* what it signified. I'le make you, reply'd he, the same answer *Paulus Emilius* made those that desir'd him in the behalf of King *Perseus* his prisoner, that he might not be carri'd in Triumph through *Rome*, *That he would ask it of his own self.* If I understood what the Painter had done, said I, I should not have any need to ask the explication of it of my self, nor of you. And have you not heard, reply'd he, that sometimes one knows things that one thinks they be ignorant of. Inquire therefore of your own self with a little reflection, what this posture means, and you will find at last, that you will resolve your own self as well as I can.

This Picture, said he, is not like most others which represent Histories. Painters have not alwayes the judg-

ment

ment as good as the sight, they think that all things are alike fit to be painted, yet there be but few things proper to be painted, for the Pensill not being capable, to give the Figures motion upon the Cloth, it cannot represent but very imperfectly, those Objects which consist in motion, as Combats, bodily Exercises, Tempests, Incendiaries, and most of those things which they most of all delight in. I know not if any body else has felt the displeasure that I have done, in considering this kind of Painting, for methinks the Figures ought to have Motion, and the Moving Posture wherein they be represented, though in effect they are immovable, doth imply a kind of contradiction, wherewith my mind is somewhat dissatisfi'd.

At this rate, said I, you had need of Comedians or Stage-players to represent things, and you would deprive Painters of the greatest and pleasantest part of their Profession: That is not my design, *reply'd he*, and if it were, I would not venture to divulge

vulge it. But I say to judge naturally of things, it were better to Paint Histories, whose essential part consisted in a fixed posture, which the Pensil may very well perform, whereof there has been some instances, wherein the persons concern'd have been in all likelyhood immovable. As for Example, the action of *Scevola*, immovably constant holding his hand in the Flames, whilst *Porsenna* and the rest that beheld him were immovable through admiration. Such also was the judgment of *Solomon*, where the true Mother held the Arm of him that went to Divide her Child, whilst the pretended Mother stood immovable in her Obstinacy. And such to conclude, is the Picture that you see, Imagin then what sense you would give the Action it represents, if you see it in the Original, seeing it would be but the same that 'tis in the Copy.

Plutar. of Shame.

If passing through the *Cæmarique* amongst the Statues of the Deity Gods of *Greece*, you should see *Diogenes* prostrate before one of those Images,

mages, holding out his hand asking an Alms what would you think of it? I should be much ſtartl'd at it, *ſaid I*, to ſee ſo careleſs a Man begging, and ſo wiſe a Man to begg of a Statue; that is the very reaſon, *reply'd Caſarion*, which ſhould make you gueſs the meaning of his poſture. It don't ſeem ſtrange to you, to begg of a Statue, but becauſe it cannot give any thing. If then any body asks of it, 'tis not becauſe they think to receive any thing; this demand therefore is not out of Intreſt, it is not therefore incomparable with the great indifferency of *Diogenes*, there only remaines to inquire why he amus'd himſelf about ſo frivolous (not to ſay ſo fooliſh) an Action.

To underſtand the true Reaſon, you need only conſider him with attenſion in this poſture; I ſhould ſoon be try'd, *ſaid I*, and could not long hold out without growing impatient. Admire then, *reply'd Caſarion*, the patience of this *Philoſopher* in ſo unpleaſant an exercile, that you cannot behold him

a mo-

on

a moment without displeasure. If your Patience cannot resist so little a thing, what would you do at *Court*, where you would find a Thousand greater occasions to try it. It would be in vain to flatter ones self with Success, If one did not practise this important Virtue, as you see *Diogenes* here doth. If one do's not beg as he doth without hope of being heard, and of being refus'd too without being discourag'd. Importunity, perseverance, boldness, these be the qualities necessary to make our service acceptable to those Idols, to whom our ambition and covetousness do's sacrifice the best of our daies; whoever has these qualities, shall be heard sooner or later; without them, wisdom, valour, goodness and virtue, are but frivolous ornaments.

You are surpris'd at this Discourse, *reply'd Cæsarion*, seeing me silent, you thought till now, that Merit alone had been sufficient to advance a man in the World. The several Masters and Tutours you have been under, have only labour'd in a manner to no

no other end, than to imprint this in your mind: That a perfectneſs in corporal exerciſes and virtuous qualities were a neceſſary and infallible means of making a fortune in the World. This is true in one ſenſe; this perſwaſion was neceſſary for you at that time and age, doubtleſs it contributed very much towards your accompliſhment, and it was not very requiſite you ſhould know any more at that time.

But when you left thoſe Maſters to enter into the commerce of the world, had they fully diſcharg'd themſelves of their duty, they ought to have told you quite another thing, they ought to have told you what you dream't not of, that the beſt qualities both acquir'd and natural, are things difficult to be us'd; that they muſt be conceal'd almoſt as often as ſhewn; that oftentimes they make thoſe conceited that enjoy them, make them ſilly and hated, and ſometimes render them ridiculous, and therefore for the moſt part do more hurt than good. That at

best they only procure a forc'd and unprofitable esteem, that they have very little contributed unto the greatest fortunes that have been made, and that if any that are endow'd with these qualities and know best to use them, arrive at any extraordinary promotion, they serv'd only for shew, he owes the true cause of it to some other quality of more value in the main, and which lyes more hid.

Cæsarion stoping at these words, I confess said I, you surprize me. I believ'd indeed there was ill ways of advancement, but I also concluded that there were good ways no less certain, and that a man of good merit might attain good fortune without doing any thing unworthy of himself.

You are very much deceiv'd, reply'd *Cæsarion*, a man of this stamp is a kind of publick Enemy, which all the world has reason to hate; he tyranizes over men by a kind of necessity, he imposes upon them to esteem him; he is the cause that all other things are not admir'd as much

as

as himself; he engrosses a great many applauses which would serve to gratifie a great many others; how then can he but be envy'd?

This perswasion is as firmly rooted in the minds of men, as the love of glory it self; and it never appear'd more than amongst the people that were most of all enflam'd with a love of this glory. You know against what sort of men the *Ostracism* was set up at *Athens*: and doubtless you have heard of that Country Fellow that gave his voice for banishing *Aristides*; he could give no other reason for it, but that it displeas'd him to hear him always be call'd the *Just*. So those of *Ephesus* expell'd the most virtuous of their Citizens without any other reason, but for these memorable words, *That none amongst them should excel above his fellows, and if there be any here that would, let them go excel elsewhere.* So the *Ephori* condemn'd *Agesilaus* into a Mulct, because he alone possessed the hearts of the *Lacedemonians*. And he that conquer'd *Hannibal* thought he

Nemo de nobis unus excellat; sed si quis extiterit, alio in loco & apud alios sit. Sic. Tusc. quæst. l. 5.

ought to banish himself from *Rome*, that so he might give liberty to virtues inferior to his, to appear there; so true it is, that at all times nothing has been more dangerous amongst men, than too shining a merit.

If this remarkable truth has appear'd in the most virtuous and best govern'd Common-wealths, do you think it will not appear in Courts, where many times there is neither order nor virtue? There's nothing harder than for such a man as you mean, there to find favour or protection; because those which have the chief power, are not always of such merit, as not to fear such as are endow'd with higher merit than themselves. One had need have a great stock of virtue, to love it in another as much as it deserves; this is the most assured sign of true merit, and one may, without vanity, be fully assur'd of his own, when one does right to that of other mens; that one takes pleasure in making it known, and that one honours the party indifferently, in all places, and at all times.

And

And ſuch a one was *Scipio*, that I before mention'd to you; and I cannot better repreſent him to you by this great Idea, than in the very words of his incomparable Hiſtorian. After the unfortunate death of his Father and Unkle in *Spain*, one of their Lieutenants, called *Martius*, maintain'd the glory of *Rome*, which had been ſhrewdly ſhaken by ſuch two terrible blows, that ſcarce any that ſucceeded thoſe two great men, could not well have ſupply'd their place better than him: So that of thoſe that were in *Rome* capable of ſuch imployments, there was none that durſt aſpire to that, in *Spain*, but the Heir of the Illuſtrious deceas'd; he was aged about 24 years. How do you think he carry'd himſelf towards this brave Lieutenant, who would have darkn'd the glory of any other Captain but this, when he ariv'd in his Province? He did not ſet about changing the Orders *Martius* had given; he did not narrowly ſearch into the faults that might be committed before his coming, a-

mongſt ſo many great tranſactions, and of what might have been done better than was done: He kept not ſtrictly his diſtance and port, as was due to him as General, and affected not the reſpect due to it, with this great Perſon, more than he did with others his inferiors: neither did he uſe indirect ways, as moſt Commanders do, to diſparage the conduct of their Predeceſſors; *He had* Martius *always near him*, ſaith Tit. Livius, *and he did him ſo great honour, that 'twas plainly ſeen, he feared not that any body could hinder the progreſs of his glory.*

Martium ſecum tanto cum honore habeb at, ut facile appareret, eum nihil minus vereri, quam ne quis obſtaret gloriæ ſuæ. l. 26.

Alexander, ſurnam'd the Great attain'd not ſuch a pitch of virtue; he was not ſo ingenious, ſaith the moſt impartial of his Hiſtorians, in valuing the virtue and courage of his own Countrymen, as much as he did that of ſtrangers. Another Author makes a long narrative of the good qualities peculiar unto each of his Captains, for which he hated them without any other cauſe, and therefore *Parmenion*, him that of all others knew

Ælian. Hiſt. diverſ. l. 12. c. 16. Quint. Curt. l. 8

him

him beſt, ſaid for an only leſſon to *Philotas*, *My Son be little in thine own eſteem.* If a perſon of ſo eminent degree as this Conqueror, was not free from jealouſie, how can it be expected, that the moſt part of the great Men, we ſpeak of, can be exempt from it? And what aſſiſtance can a man of true virtue and merit hope from ſuch, in prefering him at Court? Yet what poſſibility is there of being conſider'd without the favourable recommendation of ſome or other? The Princes favour and good-will is already ingag'd, how virtuous and valiant ſoever a perſon is, he muſt not think to be regarded for that reaſon alone, unleſs he is ingag'd to do it by ſome other way and means. It's poſſible he may do you right, ſhould he reward your merits; but how unlikely is it, that he will trouble himſelf to inquire into your deſerts? Something elſe is requiſite for the attaining your ends.

A Prince that has already choſe and ſetled his affection upon his Miniſters and Favourites, before ever

you were thought of, thinks that he has no further need of any body else; he sees by their Eyes, hears by their Ears, and for the most part Judges by their judgement: So that any body that offer their service, otherwise than by their means, is not regarded by him, he must move out of his Sphere to do otherwise: being only familiarly acquainted with them, he knows not if there be any others that excel them; and herein he resembles that Woman amongst the Ancients, that suppos'd all men had stinking breath, because she never kiss'd any but her own Husband.

Moreover, Favourites and great Ministers, looking upon the Princes favour to be uncertain, and a thing that may be lost; they dread nothing more than a man that is endow'd with the many good qualities you speak of; they knowing him a long time, do judge better than new Comers the effects it may produce in the mind of their Master; they know how to represent such of these qualities as may not be pleasing, and

use

uſe all means to hinder thoſe from being known, which would pleaſe too much.

And do not imagine, that 'tis intereſt alone that makes them act in this manner, in diſſiparing the cloud that threatens them, it is the general practice of Courtiers to proceed this way, although they drive at ſeveral ends; and the moſt oppoſite agree in this, to diſcourage perſons of extraordinary merit from having any ſhear in the Prince his favour, although they cannot but have a great eſteem for ſuch themſelves. It is a compact which they be naturally inclin'd to, and they never fail to agree in the executing of it: they have no need of conſulting, nor of being advis'd to joyn together in theſe occaſions; envy and vanity, wherewith they are equally poſſeſs'd, directs them to the ſame end, more than all the conſultations in the World can do.

Let but one of them begin to tell a ridiculous ſtory of ſuch a Perſon as this, either falſe, or ſo groſly coun-

neceſſit, that it can ſcarce be diſcover'd by thoſe which know the contrary; he is ſurpris'd, that another, who it may be knows not ſo much as he does, ſhould preſently give ſuch credit to what he heard, that the other might be ready to gueſs at what he ſo cunningly invented. Two or three ſuch ill Offices as this, were ſufficient to ruin any Man, were he never ſo well eſteem'd by his *Prince*, who if not very wiſe, never inquires into the Cauſe of things; or if he doth, is not for the moſt part more favourable to Perſons of extraordinary Merit, than his Courtiers are.

Therefore it is, that he ſcarce ever regards ſuch Perſons as theſe be, for Men are ſtartled at the leaſt inclination he has for them, and then they are envi'd by all the World; and this general deſign of ruining them, which is a neceſſary Conſequence of the goodneſs of his choiſe, diſcourages the *Prince* and naturally inclines him to be ſuſpitious.

It may plainly be perceiv'd, that the general averſion he find's in

Mens

Mens minds for the good choice he should make, do's at length reduce him to the necessity of making a bad one; and then he finds no longer any opposition; for it is only Virtue and Merit which are suspected; a Man is seldom hated for being Vitious, the first favours bestow'd on him are not suspected, they are attributed to some other Cause, and 'tis not believed they can hold long, yet such a person easily and without opposition, by his corruptness, Establishes himself in the *Princes* favour, to the Admiration of all the World; It is not believ'd till 'tis too late, and the wisdom of the *Prince* being ingag'd, he is bound in honour to vindicate it, and will not be perswaded to the contrary of what he has done.

Cesarion having deliver'd this Discourse with some concernedness, stoping at these words, I could not but testifie to him my Astonishment at what he said; for although the consequence seem'd very natural in hearing him, yet I did not well perceive to what it tended. If it be so,

said

ſaid I, nothing is more difficult, than for a *Prince* to make a wiſe choice; there's no queſtion of it, *ſaid he*, for he never underſtands the perſons that he chooſes, and all that are about him agree to couſen him; and the life of thoſe eſpecially that are neereſt him is nothing elſe but a continual *Fars*, wherein all things are repreſented to him in Maſquerade: However methinks, *ſaid I*, when it falls out that he makes any extraordinary ill choiſe, it being the intreſt of a great many to inform him of it, it cannot chooſe, but in time he muſt be ſomwhat ſenſible of it, and ſo by conſequence reform his errour. Then you think it a ſmall matter, *reply'd Ceſarion*, to confeſs that one is miſtaken; this averſion being natural to all Men, is more particularly rooted in the ſpirits of *Princes*. Vain glory is ſo inherent to them, that 'twere almoſt unjuſt to cenſure them for it. Pray tell me which is the beſt courſe they can take in the condition you place them, either to publiſh to the World the ill choiſe they have made by

by correcting it; or by continuing to perſiſt in the ſame.

Now by this demand I underſtand your meaning. I find that what you ſay of *Favorites* is true, and that a *Prince* is much in the right, not to change them how bad ſoever they be. But methinks it ſhould not be ſo of his Miniſters; no certainly, *reply'd Ceſarion*, Favorites are not directly concern'd with publick affairs, all their actions do only regard the perſon and particular actions of the *Prince*; ſo that the little Merit they have, is ſcarce known to any, but to thoſe which be as near the *Prince* as themſelves, and ſuch are ſufficiently concern'd not to diſcloſe it to the reſt of the World.

On the contrary, the Function of Miniſters of State being publick, a *Prince* that has made an ill choiſe of them cannot hide the Errour he has committed in perſevering in it; and rather than convince the World of their incapacity, one of theſe two things is believ'd; either that he underſtands it not, and that ignorant

as

as they be, he thinks them very able; because they are wiser than him, or that, if he wants not judgment, and is destitute of humanity and true glory, seeing he cares not that all the World should suffer through his Fault, and is less sensible of his Peoples just grievance, than at the shame of owning his own Error.

And is it not just, *reply'd I*, at these words, to judge after this sort? One cannot judge otherwise, *answer'd Caesarion*, but *Princes* do not think so. And what can they think, when they prefer persons to the greatest Imployments, that are not capable of discharging the least? They think, *said he*, and they are not altogether deceiv'd, that most Men do not judge of things themselves, and much less of those things that are above their Capacity: that 'tis easie to deceive the sight, when one appears but seldom and at a distance; to hide ones Ignorance when one speaks but seldom, or when one lists, and when one is not bound to be accountable for on's Actions. To give an outward attenti-

on

on and seemingly listen to Discourse, and yet though they did so seriously, do not at all comprehend what they heard. To conclude, they believe that the number of those that have judgment sufficient, to distinguish truth through the mist of errour, and have courage to defend it, being but very few in comparison of the contrary party, their wisdom and freedom makes them only be scoffed at, and they be suppress'd by the great numbers of those who are not so judicious, or if they be, dare not declare what they think.

But grant that all this were true, *said I* again, were it not better and more glorious for a *Prince*, to choose Ministers, that stood not in need of these poor shifts, to conceal their little Merit from the sight of the World? There's no doubt of it, *reply'd Cæsarion*, but you don't consider, that most great Men desire not to be often seen, nor narrowly discern'd by Men of great Virtue and Merit.

Persons do not make choise of extraordinary Men, any farther than they

they reſemble them. It is only a wiſe *Prince*, that will make choiſe of a wiſe Miniſter, and that will praiſe him, and declare to the World the benefit he receives thereby. Let us drink ſaid *Philip* of *Macedon*, making a Debauch amongſt his Friends, in the midſt of his greateſt affairs, *Let us Drink, it is ſufficient that* Antipater *is ſober.* This in my opinion, is the higheſt commendation that ever was given by a Sovereign to a ſubject. To ſpeak after this manner, *Philip* muſt needs look upon the great Merit of *Antipater*, as making up a part of his own. A *Prince* that gave ſo high an Encomium to his Miniſter, had no cauſe to be jealous of him; he muſt be as excellent a *Prince*, as his Miniſter was an excellent Miniſter. And had I no other proof than this Diſcourſe, I ſhould be no leſs aſſur'd of it, than by the great things which daily experience ſhews us.

Athen. l. 10.

It's true, *reply'd I*, that of all the paſſages of Antiquity, that I have heard of, none touch'd me ſoſenſibly as this did. Do not you find therein

as

as well as I, *ſaid Cæſarion*, ſomthing that appears not only natural and familiar, but alſo noble and great? In the liberty of Wine and feaſting of thoſe Times, which was not ſo regular as in our Daies, to have the preſence of Mind excuſing his exceſs, even when it might have been connived at, to thoſe that might have blam'd it, and of giving a ſober account of it, although the time and place might have diſpenſed him herein, whoſoever knew how to make a Debauch in this manner, could not be much prejudic'd thereby.

But to return to our Diſcourſe; Do not imagin that all great Men, ſuch as the *King* we ſpeak of, do glory in having near them Perſons of the Merit of *Antipater*: An excellent Miniſter cannot ſute with a *Prince* of little judgment; it's enough that he may have good ſervants, and 'tis alſo true, that ſuch will never preſerve him from falling into danger. If *Agrippa* had been a Man of ſuch a Soul, *Auguſtus* had never been Maſter of the World. Theſe are excellent Ma-

Mariners in calm and fair weather, and during a prosperous Gale, but the first Storm they soon are split to pieces on some Rock or Sands. But they have the pleasure for a while to deceive the World, and to be thought able persons amongst such as be not so; their very Shipwrack which awakens the most insensible, do's not alwaies reclaim the *Prince* from his Errour; they impute the misfortune to the Winds or Planets, and although he do's not excuse them, yet had he rather be dishonour'd by persons, that he can somtimes look upon as inferiour to him, than to be well serv'd by others, that he must be oblig'd to admire.

I cannot tell, *answer'd I*, at these words, if there be any such *Princes* as those you speak of; but I know that *Augustus* whom you mention'd but now, was none of the number: You may, *reply'd Cæsarion*, be deceiv'd as well as many others; he had a great deal of witt and ingenuity, 'tis not to be deny'd; but he was not altogeather so great a Genius as most

delimagin, grounding their belief upon the report of some Modern Writers, who have not had knowledg sufficient to be competent Judges in the Case. And I am much deceiv'd, *continu'd he*, if you are not well pleas'd at what I shall relate to you of him.

You know better than I, that being inform'd of his Daughters misfortunes, he was at the same time so afflicted in hearing that it was known, and so exasperated against her, for the singular circumstances wherewith it was attended: *That he not only refus'd to appear in in publick for a considerable time, but had also thoughts of putting his Daughter to Death.* But altering his mind, instead of wholly conniving at her Debauches, not being willing to punish them as they deserv'd, he could not forbeare *complaining to the* Senate, *by a Memorial which he caus'd there to be read publickly to that purpose.* It was his Custom after this manner to impart his most important Affaires, whether Publick or Domestick, to the

Abstinuit congressu hominum Diu præ pudore, & jam de necanda deliberavit. Suet.

De filia absens, ac libello per Quæstorum recitato sub notum senatui fecit. ibid.

the Fathers of the *Senate*, when he did not do it in person. But some time after, his anger and grief giving place to his Reason, he repented publishing his own Shame, in such a manner as all the World was sensible of the business, and in the just displeasure therof cry'd out more than once: *That if* Agrippa *or* Mecænas *had been alive, he had not committed such an Errour.*

Horum mihi nihil accidisset, si aut Agrippa, *aut* Mecœnas *vixisset.* Senec. 6 *de* Benef.

Nothing can be more to the Subject we speak of, than what you have now mention'd. This unfortunate Father, so happy in all things else, knew very well, as you see, the great need that a *Prince* has (be he never so able himself) of a Minister, that may be as able or wiser than himself, of one that he may love and esteeme so much, as to suffer him to reclaime him when he doth amiss. And to quit this old pernitious Maxim of Court; *If thou dost hinder thy Master from Falling, he will not be sensible, that 'tis thou that Raisest him up.* But believe me, there are but very few that will own, as this Emperour did,

that their *Counsellors* have more wisdom than they. And were I to begin the World again, I should be cautious how I judg'd of others by him; and I would rather give credit to a Courtier belonging to *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, whose Example may serve for a Rule to all able persons, that have to do with great Men.

This *Prince*, having a Letter of importance to write, commanded one of his Gentlemen to do it; the Gentleman perform'd his part the best he could, and carried it to the *King*: The *King*, having read it, drew one out of his Pocket, that he had compos'd himself about the same business, and comparing them together, he ingeniously confess'd, that the Gentleman's was the best, and that he would make use of it. What reflection, think you, made the Courtier on this Discourse; he took no farther notice of it, but making a profound Obeysance, went presently and took leave of his best Friend, telling him, *That he had no more to do at*

Court, *the* King *knew that he had more wit than himself*. I do not concerne, *reply'd I*, at this story, that this Example is of any great moment. In all likelihood this Gentleman was too soon alarm'd, and the Noble sincerity of his Master, in doing him justice, would have produc'd other effects, than to expel a person of his Merit. As it was more glorious to the *King* to submit, than it was to the Courtier to be submitted to; he had more reason to be jealous of his Master, than to feare that his Master should be jealous of him, and it could not be thought, but a *Prince*, that could do so generous an Action, would also put a due value upon it.

Nothing can be better imagin'd, than what you have now express'd, *reply'd Cæsarion*, to me: Nevertheless as nothing oblig'd the *King* to shew his Letter, and it not being to his Credit to do it; it may well be suppos'd he did it unawares, and that he repented doing of it. Now if you do not think, that the effects of the dis-

displeasure he had for it, would not fall on him, that was the occasion of it, your have not the same Idea of the hearts of Men that I have, and especially of great Men.

How can they, without displeasure, acknowledge themselves inferiour, in any things, to persons that are so far from being worthy to be their Equals? All that they hear, or see tends only to make them believe that they are above all things; what appearance is there, that they can resist so pleasant an impression? Men not only endeavour to give them an opinion of the greatest Idea of themselves, but also strive, to find high any thing in the explication they make of the meanest of their expressions, which they could never have dreamt of themselves, by turning into ridicule the good Qualities of their Equals, thereby to provoke their displeasure, and what is worst of all, and most tends to corrupt them, is, by disguising their greatest faults with the names of virtues which resemble them.

Now if private persons, whose whole life is nothing but a continual passage from one subjection to another, or that at least spend the greatest part of it with persons that have no need to flatter us, find it so difficult to rule our passions and self-love: how should a great Prince, whose state is a kind of continual intoxication, become reasonable, without it be by a special grace of God, or by an extraordinary gift of wisdom?

Non videsne ipsum illum Aristotelis discipulum tanto ingenio, tanta modestia, postquam Rex appellatus sit, crudelem, superbum, immoderatum fuisse. Cic. ad Att. l. 13. ep. 28

Do you not see, cry'd the greatest Wit in *Rome*, speaking familiarly to his best friend of what might be expected of *Cæsar*, (who then appear'd very moderate) if once he became peaceable and absolute Master of the Commonwealth, *Do you not see?* saith he unto him) *how the Disciple of Aristotle, so wise, so modest, became passionate, cruel and proud, as soon as he was mounted the Throne.*

As able as he thought himself, this great Judge was however deceiv'd in his opinion: the *Roman*, he prophesi'd ill of, made as great a progress in virtue, even to his death, as the

Greek, to whom he reſembles him, had done in vice. But *Ceſar* had been 50 years a private perſon, and beſides we do not every day find a *Ceſar*.

Not that I will ſay, but that our age has produc'd great Spirits, that do move in high Spheres. Nature is as liberal and vigorous as heretofore; not to inſtance in thoſe whoſe reputation equals their merit, ſuch as the invincible Monarch of *France*, envy'd by the whole World. I was told, ſome years paſt, of a great Prince, who at 13 years of age, being prais'd by his Courtiers, for ſome Action that he was not over well ſatisfy'd withal himſelf, he anſwer'd in reproving them of their flattery, *I Prencipi fanno ſempre tutto bene*.

But once again, ſuch Anſwers are not heard every day; and for my part, very far from wondring or thinking ſtrange, that perſons of this degree ſhould not have the Merit which is due unto them, I rather think it ſtrange, that they do not reaſon as *Caligula* did, and that our

blind ſubmiſſion to their unreaſonable deſires ſhould raiſe their Preſumption unto the higheſt extravagance. *Seeing thoſe that conduct droves of Cattle* (ſaid the fool) *are not beaſts like themſelves, but are of a more excellent nature; is it not juſt, that thoſe which command ſo abſolutely over men, and whom all others obey, ſhould be more than men, like thoſe over whom they command?*

Philo. in his Ambaſſ.

This is the effect our flattery do's naturally produce in the Spirit of Princes, and it is what frequently happ'd for the moſt part in the times of *Paganiſm*. But if our holy Religion do's not allow of theſe Apotheoſes, yet it do's ſo well eſtabliſh the abſolute Authority of Princes, that it is much eaſier for them to offend in this regard, than it was heretofore to thoſe deify'd Kings and Emperors.

Although *Ceſarion* had done ſpeaking, I was ſo concern'd at what he ſaid, that I fancy'd I ſtill heard him; his diſcourſe ſeem'd ſo ſtrange to me, and withal ſo apparent, that I knew not

not what judgement to make of it. On one hand I had much difficulty to disswade my self from admiring the condition of Princes, whom I always heard call'd Gods upon earth; on the other hand I could not deny the weakness which he demonstrated they were inclin'd to. But at length, truth carrying a kind of Majesty with it, which no prejudice is able to resist, I could not avoid being of his judgement; and in this manner, with as great pleasure as good fortune, I divested my self of the strong opinion I suck'd in, in my youth.

At this rate, reply'd I at length, having paus'd a while, the condition of Kings is a deplorable state; to judge rightly of it, there's no state more miserable, said *Cæsarion*, and which deserves more pity; and it is whereof we ought to be well perswaded when we go to Court. On the contrary, answer'd I, methinks this perswasion seems to discourage us from ingaging at all at Court: you are much mistaken, said he. A Courtier that looks upon greatness

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with such an eye, not as a Soveraign Good, but as a Good whose consequences are commonly attended with error and ignorance, will not be so easily agitated with those disorderly and furious desires of attaining them, which trouble the mind in the same degree as it excites it, which makes a man take ill measures, and inspires him with rashness and folly. Ambition thrusts him forwards barefac'd, it do's not transport him beyond himself with joy nor grief at the appearance of frowns or smiles; it do's not make him, through greedines or impatience, guilty of any false step, which may without necessity oblige him to discover his designs, and which may render him ridiculous if he should not succeed in them: There appears nothing but what is decent, equal, and moderate in all his dealings. If he do's not arrive at some great fortune by these meanes, yet at least he expoſes not himself much, and 'tis no disgrace not to obtain, what he do's not very eagerly pursue.

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Indeed a man of this temper may be a Courtier all days of his life; he considers it as a School, where he must go to receive his Masters directions, and not as an employment. If he seeks his Princes favour, it is that he might be serviceable to him, either to make Religion flourish amongst his Subjects, or to defend them from their Enemies, or to see that they have Justice done them. But not to do any thing all his life, but gaze at a man, and to seek all occasions to shew himself, he would not think all the Riches and Honour in the World worth he getting by such an idle dissembling sort of life.

Not but that he likes Riches, and approves of Honour and Glory, and will spare no just means to attain them; it is because he thinks not that true Glory, which is attain'd by these ways. It may be offer'd to him at a rate that he thinks unreasonable; he knows what to lay out before he cheapens it, he will give for it no more than 'tis worth, and if it be overvalu'd, he will not disparage it,

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but thinks he should be counted a fool to buy it at too dear a rate.

And do not think, that 'tis out of any disrespect or aversion for Princes that he is of this opinion, or because he thinks them to be unfortunate and corrupt. The faults, which would deserve his hatred in private persons, only excite his pity towards Princes; and as it is the most active of all the Passions in a generous soul, it inclines him naturally to assist them, and not to shun and abandon them to the mercy of Cheats and Flatterers; he satisfies himself in using all honest ways and means to procure their favour and good liking, that they may see the need of having such as him near them: If they were duely inform'd, they would spare no cost of employing such in their service, for he excelleth in them a thousand things, which those that envy them do condemn: He saith, that it would not be only unjust, but also inhumane to reproach them with defects, which are almost inseparable from their quality; very far from that

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dark, black and malitious spight, mixed with indignation and envy, where with most of them that approach their persons be infected; he bears to them the pity and tenderness that a Father doth to his Child before it attains the age of discretion: And the care of a tender Physitian to his sick Patient, whose soul sympathises with the sickness of his Patients body: He has always this great truth in his mind, that he should perhaps be more frail than they, were he rais'd to the same Eminency: By this noble consideration, he bears from them what he would not from any else; he persists in serving them when all others forsake them; he prays for them when all the World doth curse them, and without trouble renders them the Religious respect which all Laws give unto them; he bears always in mind the the saying of the antient Poet, *Res hodierna Miser.* Senec. Epig. 41. *de Exilio suo.*

It was Sun-set, when *Cæsarion* had ended this Discourse: I cannot describe the impressions it made on my mind,

mind, and I did not perfectly understand it, but by the use I since made of it. I only remember that going afterwards to walk in a Garden, that fronted his House, to take the fresh air; I was so concern'd, that I could not speak a word all that Evening, nor do any thing but look at him, as if I had never seen him before. Any body besides him would have perceiv'd it with pleasure, and would have let me gone on in my folly, but he laugh'd at me as soon as ever he perceiv'd it: Whether it was by nature, or by much study, he was wholly insensible of the pleasure that self-love usually affords. He confess'd to me afterwards in our familiar meetings and discourses, that this indifferency proceeded from the continual experience he had of his own defects, and the impossibility he found to prevent them; that they were odious to him, and no less present in his thoughts, than his good Qualities, although perhaps less discern'd by the World; that it may be every man might say so much of

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himſelf, would they make a diligent ſcrutiny; but moſt did not trouble themſelves in examining their thoughts as ſtrictly as he did, wherein he knew not if he deſerv'd be envy'd or to be pity'd. If it were not to be happy to be in this temper of mind, it was at leaſt to be prudent and diſcreet, and you have as great cauſe to lament ſurviving ſo rare a friend, as I have of retaining in my mind a tender and religious Remembrance of his admirable great Learning and Wiſdom.

The End of the Fourth Day.